

THE TRUTH ABOUT HUNGARY

Facts
and
Eyewitness
Accounts

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FOREWORD

Almost a year has passed since the events in Hungary. And yet to this day certain circles have been using these events for aggravating international situation and for attempts to interfere in Hungary's internal affairs.

At present, at the insistent request of the U.S.A., Great Britain and a number of other states the "Hungarian question" is once more to be discussed by the United Nations. In many countries the press, radio and other means of propaganda are going out of their way to focus the attention of public opinion on this problem.

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic has strongly objected and objects to a discussion of the "Hungarian question" by the United Nations, since, as it was pointed out, this would be interference in the domestic affairs of a state and a gross violation of the United Nations Charter. As is known, this viewpoint is shared by the Soviet Union and many other countries.

How should one get at the truth about what happened in Hungary? The authors of this publication have adopted the following course: they decided to find out for themselves how Hungarians are appraising the events of last autumn, and how life is being brought back to normal state in that country. For this purpose, we, two Soviet journalists, visited Hungary in July and August.

We travelled by car across Hungary from Budapest to the Bekes region, in the south of the country. We drove to Győr in the west, and further on to a frontier outpost on the

Austro-Hungarian border beyond Mosonmagyaróvár. We made a trip to Lake Balaton where at this time of the year scores of thousands of Hungarian working people spend their holidays.

We interviewed workers and peasants, engineers, scholars, writers, and young people. In Budapest we attended a trial at the Supreme Court and we visited a prison where we had talks with Geza Bornemisza, Horthyist Minister of Industry, and Count Khuen-Héderváry. We interviewed both judges and convicts.

We talked with the Mayor of Budapest Dr. Kalman Pongrácz and Minister of State György Marosán. We were received by István Dobi, President of the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic.

We are neither an international commission nor an official delegation. We are merely two newspapermen, who have set themselves a modest task: to get acquainted with the facts in good faith, without adding anything from ourselves and without embellishing anything. We are convinced that it is sufficient for objectively-minded people to get acquainted with the facts in order to get to the bottom of events.

We have no desire to force our views on anybody. Let the readers learn the facts and stories told by eyewitnesses, and draw their own conclusions.

We have included as an appendix the "Report of a Delegation of Scottish Miners" who visited Hungary, which was recently published, and other publications which, it seems to us, may help understand the essence of the October events in Hungary.

*A. Belokon
V. Tolstikov*

I. WHAT WAS BEHIND THE EVENTS

1. "THE HAND OF THE WEST"

"If it had not been for the black hand of the West, this would not have happened in Hungary." We heard these words from many people in Hungary. We heard them from Mihaly Korbey, a pensioner of Szarvas, from Lajos Fekete, a worker employed at the Ganz Plant, from the author Pal Szabo, from Tolnai, a trade-union worker employed at the Csepel Works, and others.

We were to learn more detailed information about the role of the Western Powers in the Hungarian events during our interview with István Darvasi, Vice-Chairman of the Information Bureau of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic.

"The West," he said, "played a fatal role in the counter-revolutionary events in Hungary. The counter-revolutionary putsch in Hungary was thoroughly prepared in advance by the Western Powers. The preparations for it were conducted in the U.S.A., Austria and Western Germany, and right in Hungary.

"Energetic preparations for overthrowing the people's democratic system in Hungary and in other East European countries, have been conducted in the United States of America, for example, for many years. And since 1951 the United States Congress has been officially allocating hundreds of millions of dollars for this purpose.

"According to United Press reports, on January 9, last year, State Secretary John Foster Dulles confirmed America's promise to work for the liberation of the peoples in the communist satellites until the campaign is crowned with success. He made that promise during the 45-minute meeting with émigré leaders from nine European countries.

"As for the counter-revolution in Hungary, Allen Dulles, head of the American intelligence service, is known to have said that he knew in advance about the coming Hungarian revolt.

"A special role in unleashing the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Hungary was allocated by the Western Powers to the Hungarian émigrés who received every encouragement, funds and armaments from these Powers.

"Already by the middle of October last, leaders of the Hungarian émigrés from the U.S.A. and Europe assembled in Munich, Vienna, and in Switzerland for the purpose of directing and practical realization of the plans of the counter-revolutionaries in Hungary. A special office, set up right then in Munich, at 3 Hammelreichstrasse, under Andras Boros of 'Free Europe' Radio, undertook immediately the formation of armed detachments and smuggling them into Hungary. Thus thousands of armed men, hundreds of lorries carrying armaments, ammunition and food supplies for the counter-revolutionaries, were smuggled across the Austro-Hungarian border before and during the counter-revolutionary events. Farewell banquets were arranged at the émigré club in Vienna before their shipment to Hungary.

"Even before the events millions of leaflets calling for the overthrow of the people's democratic system in Hungary and promising all possible support were dropped on Hungarian territory from balloons and airplanes. The leaflets were printed at the 'Free Europe' printshops in Munich, where special headquarters were set up under Sándor Károly, a former Horthy officer, for compiling all kinds of provocative appeals, leaflets, and pamphlets. It was there too

that 'instructions' and 'memoranda' were prepared for the armed groups smuggled into Hungary across the Austro-Hungarian border. Those 'memoranda' and 'instructions' called for the murder of Communists, officials of the people's government, foremost workers, and outlined ways of engineering provocations and outrages."

Equipped with those materials, the armed émigrés crossed the Hungarian border. Here are some of the accounts and evidence given by eyewitnesses.

Sándor Visnei, Peter Renner, Karoy Toth, Béla Kohuta and other spies arrested in Hungary gave detailed information about the way armed detachments were smuggled into Hungary and about the contacts between the Hungarian émigrés and Western intelligence services. Here, for example, is the information given by one of the spies, Sándor Visnei, formerly a first lieutenant in the Horthy army: "From the very beginning of the events and right until December 9, 1956, I was operating practically without interruption on the Austro-Hungarian border. I saw with my own eyes groups of men armed by Gehlen's West German espionage organization cross the Austro-Hungarian border at different points between Szentgotthard and Hegyeshalom, for the purpose of fighting in Hungary. . . .

"After the counter-revolutionary revolt had broken out in Hungary, agents of Gehlen's spying organization were stationed all the time on the Austro-Hungarian border. They tried to persuade Hungarian refugees in Austria to go back and fight for the overthrowing of the people's government in Hungary. Furthermore, Hungarian refugees were recruited on a mass scale and sent to Hungary for espionage."

And here is a statement made by I. M. Bisaga, a Ukrainian nationalist who lived in Western Germany at that time, to foreign correspondents in Berlin: "A few weeks before the Hungarian events I learned from Vladimir Lenik, one of the prominent leaders of the Z.C. O.U.N. (Ukrainian nationalist organization in the West), that Bandera, Ka-

shuba, and Lenkavsky, acting on the instructions of their masters, formed on the territory of Austria about ten detachments composed of members of the Ukrainian nationalist organizations for subversive work and sabotage.

"Shortly before the Hungarian events I learned quite by chance from Lenik that the groups formed on Austrian territory back in August would be smuggled into Hungary for subversive activities. Lenik told me that we were on the eve of an important event and advised me to go to Hungary. He assured me that I would not regret that because this work would be well paid....

"On the day after the Hungarian events started, Vladimir Lenik arrived on the Austro-Hungarian border as a correspondent of the Ukrainian émigré newspaper *Shlyakh Peremogi*, in order to smuggle the O.U.N. gangs into Hungary. Ivan Kashuba, leader of the Bandera organization, brought from Munich and its environs a few more groups which were sent together with the groups of the Horthyist general Kisbarnaki for carrying out terrorist activities....

"The mentioned groups took along leaflets in the Russian, Ukrainian and Hungarian languages, and, most important, they were equipped with American armaments."

And here is the story of a man who took part in the events, the radio technician Robert Ban of the Budapest Orion Plant: "Faustpatronen were supplied to Hungary through Austria in the guise of medicines. Fifty of them, for example, were delivered to the Kilian Barracks in Budapest."

"Concrete facts illustrative of the ways by which the armed counter-revolution in Hungary was prepared," observed István Darvasi, "were reported in many European newspapers at the time.

"Here, for example, is what the *Berliner Zeitung* wrote on November 20, 1956: 'The participation of trained Hungarian émigrés in the bloody events in Hungary is undoubtedly an established fact today. It has been learned in Munich that there is an American-controlled camp at Upper

Bavaria, near Traunstein, where instruction in guerrilla warfare is given by officers from Franco Spain and members of Hungarian fascist organizations. A large group of Swabians, who had fled to Western Germany in 1945 because they were members of armed S.S. detachments, arrived at that camp from Hungary after October 20....

"On October 24, 25 and 26, groups of fresh-baked guerrillas from the Traunstein camp were shipped to Austria and from there smuggled into Hungary in ambulance planes and automobiles.'

"All that furnished the France Presse Agency the grounds for saying in its report of October 31 that 'the events in Hungary revive the memory of the Horthy putsch of 1919.'

"The Austrian *Salzburger Tageblatt* wrote on October 31 in a dispatch from the Austro-Hungarian border: 'A two-way traffic has been opened across the Austro-Hungarian border, and the 'free radio stations,' which are demanding the establishment of a 'Western democracy' on Hungarian territory, are in reality not transmitters allegedly operating in small towns in Western Hungary, but portable American wireless units.'

"Nor did the Vatican remain indifferent to the counter-revolutionary events in Hungary. Let me quote just one newspaper, the Swiss *Journal de Genève*, which wrote on December 13, 1956: 'Some Hungarians, it seems, reproach the Vatican for inadequate assistance to their national revolt. This is an altogether wrong impression.... The Vatican did commission (to Hungary—*Ed.*) its trusted people. For example, a representative of the Vatican, Monsignor Roden, had even been to the capital and conferred with Cardinal Mindszenty who was just then released from prison by the Nagy Government. After seeing the situation and transmitting to the cardinal a considerable sum sent by the Pope to the Hungarian Catholics, he returned to the Vatican with highly important secret documents. A similar trip was made somewhat later by Monsignor Zagon, rector of the Papal Hungarian Institute, who returned to Rome

with espistles from the Hungarian bishops. Special observers were stationed later along the Austrian border.'

"At the time of the counter-revolution in Hungary, the Austro-Hungarian border was open throughout its length. It now becomes clear why the Austrian authorities were so persistently asking the Hungarian Government immediately before the October events that the border be cleared of minefields and other technical obstacles. Pensipp, the former Austrian Ambassador to Budapest, was literally bombarding the Hungarian Foreign Ministry with demands for demining the border, for freedom of movement for Western diplomats in Hungary, etc. It will be remembered that after his return from Budapest he was awarded the highest Austrian Order.

"On October 27, the Austrian Ministry of Interior had already published an announcement asking the population not to go to the area bordering on Hungary, unless there was an extreme necessity. 'For technical reasons,' declared the announcement, 'it is necessary that the roads in the border area leading to Hungary should be free from traffic.'

"Was that not done in order to keep the road to Hungary clear for the armed detachments and to assure that there would be as few witnesses as possible?

"During and after the October events the Western intelligence services were widely exploiting the signboard of the International Red Cross for their espionage activities in Hungary. Representatives of the International Red Cross appeared in Budapest literally during the first days of the counter-revolutionary events, followed by a host of representatives of the Red Cross of Western Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Belgium, and other countries.

"Here is what the Austrian journalist Eva Priester, a direct eyewitness, says about it in her book, *Hungarian Reportage*: 'The last big town before the Hungarian border is Bruck on the Leitha. Driving past that town after October 28, one could see dozens of automobiles parked a few kilometres before it. Those were the most ordinary lorries

and motor cars from Austria, Western Germany, and even from other countries. People were busy around them. Painting a red cross on a white piece of cloth, they fastened it on the radiator and drove on. The can of paint and brush were left for those who would come later. In many instances, paper or cardboard were found enough for the purpose. That is how the "Red Cross transport columns" were made up which were exempted from subsequent control.'

"It is known that before going to Hungary all the members of the International Red Cross delegation, drivers included, received a special course of training. One of the members of the International Red Cross delegation revealed, that there was even a special intelligence service working among them in Budapest.

"Both during and after the events, some members of the I.R.C. delegation (in particular two women Jorg and Amburg could be mentioned) went from house to house ostensibly for finding out whether any help was needed, but actually for the purpose of collecting intelligence information and rumours. They also summoned some Hungarian citizens and asked them to make statements about alleged deportations of Hungarians to the Soviet Union. These statements were recorded on tape. This, for instance, was the case with Erzsebet Döller, of Soroksar.

"After the events and until quite recently, the International Red Cross delegation to Budapest numbered hundreds of people. At the warehouse on Csepel Island alone, they maintained a staff of 123 people, although its personnel was not to exceed 20 people, under the agreement with the Hungarian authorities. More than 100 people were maintained at the expense of the 'relief fund' allocated to Hungary by the I.R.C.

"Hundreds of people stayed in Hungary as representatives of the I.R.C. At a time when Hungary needed coal, building materials, and metal, she was receiving from the I.R.C. carloads of prayer books, church-plate and vest-

ments, religious books and only a small amount of food, old clothing and shoes. There was only one instance when several carloads of coal were received as aid from the International Red Cross.

"Here is a story of a Hungarian woman transport worker about the 'aid' of the Red Cross; it was published in the Hamburg newspaper *Welt am Sonntag* on November 4: 'The first batch of food reached us only on Saturday. One foreigner who spoke Hungarian fluently gave us four truckloads of tins with the warning that we should open them very carefully. The meaning of these words came to us somewhat later when we found that 200 of the tins contained hand grenades.'

"Characteristically, this issue of the *Welt am Sonntag* was immediately confiscated by the West German Government.

"The inside walls of the cars in which I.R.C. 'aid' was delivered to Hungary were as a rule plastered with all kinds of provocative slogans and calls for a renewal of the armed struggle.

"During the counter-revolutionary events in Budapest, members of the offices of the British, American, and French military attaches were openly driving through the city in diplomatic cars acting as liaison officers between the armed groups which operated in different parts of the city. The British Military Attache, Colonel Cowley, was regularly visiting Maleter and was in fact his adviser. Furthermore, Cowley received from Maleter information about Soviet armaments, and about Soviet tanks in particular. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic expelled Colonel Cowley as well as the Air Attache of the American Legation in Budapest, Colonel Dullem, who, as noted in the Note addressed by the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the U.S. Legation, was actively engaged during the counter-revolutionary events in the collection of espionage information.

"Captain T. R. Gleason, assistant to the American Military Attache, was also expelled from Hungary because of similar activities.

"As is known, the United States in 1956 allocated \$125,000,000 for the 'Hungarian affairs.'

"The Howard Commission report on the activities of the secret service of the U.S.A. in part reads that the commission recommends a bold policy in obtaining information pertaining to the 'Eastern bloc' regardless of the risk of diplomatic complications.

"To continue espionage and sabotage against the Hungarian People's Republic, the so-called Strassburg Conference was convened in the spring of this year, at which Anna Kethly, Béla Király, and József Kővágó were drawn into the leadership of these criminal activities. These ring-leaders of the Hungarian counter-revolution are at present the chief informants of the United Nations Committee on Hungary.

"The imperialist circles now continue their hostile activities against the Hungarian people particularly by supporting various émigré organizations which are spy nests of the American intelligence.

"Here is the evidence of the spy Gerlei who was freed from prison by the counter-revolutionaries on October 31, last year. From November 9 until January 2 he stayed in Austria where he was recruited for espionage by a group of Hungarian Right-wing Social-Democrats. Gerlei was to make trips to Hungary at regular intervals to furnish the enemies of the people's democratic system in hiding with money and instructions.

"After the rout of the counter-revolution in Hungary, Gerlei returned to the country from Austria with instructions to contact the armed detachments of the counter-revolutionaries allegedly hiding in the mountains, the so-called 'revolutionary committee' of the Budapest institutes and the Csepel district council. During the investigation Gerlei related the following: 'I was to tell them that they were to

receive aid for further armed struggle from the West. They were supposed to be supplied from the West with radio transmitters, literature, medicine, and money. According to my instructions I was to tell them that one or two men familiar with the frontier should go to Vienna for instructions.'

"After Gerlei's arrest, another agent, László Baloga, was sent to Hungary from Vienna with instructions to learn where and how the aid prepared in the West would be received and also to try to rally all the armed bands if there were any such in Hungary.

"These," said István Darvasi, "are just some of the facts indicative of the role played by the Western Powers in the preparation and launching of the counter-revolution in Hungary.

"In conclusion," István Darvasi continued, "a few words about the activities of the U.N. Committee on Hungary. Hungarian emigrants Tibor Pasztori, former secretary of Zóltan Tildy, Gabor Havas, the Vienna representative of the Brussel's Internationaler Bund Freier Gewerkshaftern, and Tamas Pasztor participated in the activities of this committee in Vienna.

"We know that it was precisely these three people who picked and rehearsed those 47 refugees which were presented to the U.N. Committee on Hungary in Vienna as 'eyewitnesses.' After an 'eyewitness' was put through the paces by them, he was preliminarily questioned by members of the committee and only afterwards were the final minutes prepared and the testimony recorded on tape.

"Andersen, the committee's chairman, showed great sympathy for the refugees, especially when they testified in accordance with the instructions of the above-mentioned three 'mentors.'

"Every 'eyewitness' received 200 shillings for each day spent in presenting evidence or waiting to appear before the committee. Andersen himself stated time and again that very big sums had been spent.



In Germany, too, fascism began with burning books



Victims of counter-revolutionary terror

"And nevertheless, not all of the hand-picked refugees gave evidence according to the instructions they had received. We know that many witnesses insisted that their reference to the fact that the West, and first of all the U.S.A., were responsible for the October events in Hungary be included in their statements. The minutes of many preliminary interrogations include statements to the effect that the 'Free Europe' broadcasts spread hope among the rebels that decisive assistance was coming from the West. Many of the interrogated said that President Eisenhower's statement that after winning freedom Hungary would receive such assistance which would transform her into one of the richest countries in Europe, was regarded by the participants in the events as a call to continue the armed struggle.

"However," István Darvasi said, "we do not find these statements in the report of the U.N. Committee on Hungary. All this shows its biased approach and the juggling with facts in order to conform to the liking and advantage of the organizers of this provocation against the Hungarian people."

At the central airport of Budapest we talked to István Antal, an automobile mechanic. He was at the airdrome throughout those events.

"Planes arriving from Vienna were landing on this airdrome in the dozens every day, during the counter-revolutionary events, after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops and until November 4," he told us. "They were in the main transport planes of American makes. Armed counter-revolutionaries always came to the airdrome in trucks from Budapest to await the arrival of those planes. From the planes they brought out gingerly some crates and loaded them on to trucks which were immediately dispatched to town under strong convoys.

"Along with those supplies, the planes brought men in white smocks, but we could see well the military uniforms under those smocks. The arrival and departure of the planes, as well as the loading of the crates were well organized.

I noticed that some of the planes made several trips a day.

"The airdrome personnel were not allowed to come near the planes and the supplies they brought, but a Hungarian who arrived by truck from Budapest to wait for a plane told me that they had come to receive armaments."

Continuing, István Antal told us: "On October 10, about a fortnight before those events, a truck driver employed on the airdrome showed me a letter he had just received from relations in the United States. Here is what they wrote (I am giving it word for word): 'We have heard that you will soon have a revolution in your country.'"

* * *

We also went to Győr and talked to János Csete, a technician employed at the local broadcasting service. He told us about the following incident at this broadcasting centre on October 31.

"That was in the afternoon of October 31," said János Csete. "A Red Cross automobile pulled up at the building; five men in white smocks came out of it and went straight to the studio where I was working. When they entered, one of them introduced himself as a professor and said he wanted to say a few words before the microphone, and that it was a question of 'human lives.' Just then, one of the workers of the studio wanted to go out, but the 'professor's' companions stopped him, saying that no one could go out of the building before the 'professor' would deliver his speech. At that moment I noticed that they had shortened Tommy-guns under their smocks. I realized that they were counter-revolutionaries and that the 'professor' must not be allowed to speak. But if I had said anything we would all be shot at once. I therefore decided to deceive the 'professor' and his companions. I told them that our studio was not adapted for direct broadcasts, and that it would be necessary to make a tape record of the speech before it could be broadcast. After a slight hesitation, the 'professor'

agreed. I handed the microphone to him and made a recording of his speech. That 'professor' was in reality a former Horthyist Captain, Lajos Somogyvari who had come to Győr from Munich. At the beginning of his speech, however, he had introduced himself as 'an envoy of the Budapest youth.'

"Leaving us, Somogyvari said that he would send an armed squad and all of us would be shot if his speech was not broadcast in half an hour.

"When he had left, I telephoned to the commander of the garrison and asked for protection. Two tanks and a platoon of soldiers were sent to guard the radio centre. Somogyvari kept on phoning every five minutes, demanding that his speech be broadcast; I answered at first, but then simply stopped picking up the receiver.

"In the evening a crowd assembled around the building. At first a few people and then the whole crowd began to demand that the speech be broadcast, threatening that otherwise they would destroy the building of the radio centre. I came out into the street and invited a few people to come into the building. They came into the studio and I asked whether they knew who Somogyvari was. They said they had been told that he was the representative of the Budapest youth. Then I let them hear the speech of Lajos Somogyvari. After that I asked them: 'Do you wish this speech to be broadcast now? Do you want to see our country divided and converted into another Korea?' They all replied that they did not wish that. So I said to them: 'Go back into the street and tell the crowd about it.' They left and the crowd began to disperse.

"Somogyvari's speech was not broadcast after all."

János Csete asked us if we wanted to hear the speech which would take about 12 minutes. We heard it, recorded it with the aid of an interpreter, and here are a few quotations from it, which show how the counter-revolutionaries pictured Hungary's future.

"We have decided to form on this very day a provisional

government," said Somogyvari. "It must not include people who held any posts in the last 12 years.... The new government will receive all possible assistance and support, including military aid, from the Western states. We call upon all the foreigners, upon all the foreign citizens to organize volunteer brigades and regiments. We ask the 'Free Europe' Radio to announce that. They should establish contact with the revolutionary government at Györ which is being formed today under the leadership of Somogyvari...."

The future government, in full accord with fascist ideology, should, according to Somogyvari, include only "hundred-per-cent Hungarians" whom he invited to "risk their lives" to seize power. He openly called for insurrection. He urged the inhabitants of Gyodzs and its suburbs to "capture the Gyodzs radio station since there are organized and trained servicemen among you."

He promised the Hungarians that if the counter-revolution would be successful they would have a paradise on earth "thanks to the assistance and the loans of foreign states."

This rascal offered "his name" as a "guarantee" of the victory of the counter-revolution, although this name was absolutely unknown to anyone.

We also interviewed at Györ the editor of the regional newspaper *Kisalföld*, Sándor Lenyai, who told us about the events at Györ and its environs.

"No more than about 500 out of 70,000 inhabitants of our city took part in the counter-revolutionary events," he said. "They were in the main various declassed elements: former fascists and felons, but there were also some people misled by the brazen propaganda conducted in those days by the 'Free Europe' Radio in its Hungarian-language broadcasts.

"At Györ, the counter-revolutionary leaders began to struggle in advance for future power. The fight was on between two groups: one composed mainly of fascists who had

come from the West, headed by Lajos Somogyvári, and the second of former fascists and felons who lived at Győr and who were headed by the chief of the Trans-Danube 'Revolutionary Committee,' Atilla Szigethy, a smart double-dealer and adventurer.

"Who knows what the outcome of that struggle may have been if the Soviet Army had not entered Győr on November 4 and freed our people from the counter-revolution and from the new-born rulers."

From Győr we drove on to the Austro-Hungarian border, stopping at the Hegyeshalom post on the Vienna-Budapest highway, where we interviewed Captain József Franek, the head of the post, who had served there for three years already and was there during the Hungarian events.

The captain told us that there was only a handful of border-guards at the post when the counter-revolutionary events broke out. Naturally, they could not cope with the counter-revolutionaries who invaded the border post, and placed a former Horthyist officer in command of it.

Every day no less than 500 lorries with men and freight passed over the border from Austria to Hungary entirely uncontrolled at that point.

On November 4, the Soviet troops reached the border, but they took no part in the struggle against the counter-revolutionaries there, evidently not wanting to violate Austria's neutrality.

After November 4, there was still an armed group of about 80 men operating for several days on the Hungarian side of the border; they offered stubborn resistance to the Hungarian border-guards. It was difficult for the border-guards to fight that group because they could not fire in the direction of the border. The priest from the Austrian border village of Nickelsdorf visited the armed bandits every day and brought them food.

When the border-guards decided to attack the armed bandits from the flanks, the latter crossed over to Austrian territory, seeing apparently that further resistance was futile.

Several lorries were waiting for them on the Austrian side, and while the Hungarian border-guards were looking on they calmly climbed on to those lorries and went away. In the place where they were entrenched the border-guards found empty cases for cartridges of British make.

After the suppression of the armed counter-revolution in Hungary, a stream of refugees gushed across the border to Austria; the Hungarian border-guards could not control the border with the facilities and forces they had, and the Soviet troops stationed a short distance from the border did not interfere with it.

"Curiously enough," said József Franek, "powerful searchlights were trained on the Hungarian side of the border from the territory of neutral Austria at night, and loud-speakers turned in our direction kept on hammering away the same appeal in the Hungarian language: 'Come here, to a free land.'

"Quiet prevails on the border today, and trespasses are fewer than in the summer of 1956. I am not referring to the refugees who are crossing the border into Hungary every day. They themselves look for the Hungarian border-guards, who assist these refugees in returning to their homes. These refugees tell us how they have managed to slip past the Austrian border-guards who do everything to keep the Hungarian refugees from returning to their native land."

2. THE PART PLAYED BY "FREE EUROPE"

The part played in the Hungarian events by Radio "Free Europe" (located in Munich, Western Germany) is sufficiently well known today. And yet the question of the influence exerted upon last year's events in Hungary by the activities of Radio "Free Europe" and by other propaganda channels, through which definite circles in the West had for many years been inciting the population of Hungary to revolt against the people's democratic system, is completely

ignored by the authors of the report of the Committee of Five, who claim to be objective.

In the West many organs of the press point out that "Free Europe" and other propaganda agencies of this kind are directly responsible for the events in Hungary. Here are some of the statements:

"We are convinced," wrote the West German *Freies Wort*, organ of the Free Democratic Party of the F.R.G., "that in the first place the aggressive propaganda of 'Free Europe' Radio is largely responsible for the bloodshed in Hungary. . . . Propaganda which in the final analysis was paid for with the blood of misled people . . . is a crime against humanity."

In an article published on November 22, 1956, under the heading, "America Has Disappointed the Hungarians," the Paris *Le Monde* emphasized that responsibility for the tragic events in Hungary is borne not only by the "Free Europe" Committee and its radio propaganda centre in Munich, but also by those circles in the United States of America which financed and supported the activities of this agency.

"Most high-placed Americans," wrote *Le Monde*, "missed no opportunity of expressing their interestedness in the destinies of the peoples of Eastern Europe, of inciting them to resistance, and emphasizing that all those who would fight for freedom could be assured of America's support. . . . In 1949, at the height of the 'cold war,' a powerful organization, the 'Free Europe' Committee, was founded; formally a private organization, it is in reality directed by the State Department. Allan Dulles, at that time assistant chief and now chief of the Central Intelligence Administration, was placed at the head of this committee. It was formed for the twofold purpose of concentrating in its hands the organization and leadership of post-war émigrés and of assuring to them a leading part in the propaganda aimed at Eastern Europe. National committees, the members of which were selected by Americans, were formed in New York.

Financing these committees, the Americans reserved to themselves the monopoly of speaking in the name of the émigrés. At the same time a broadcasting service was equipped at Holzkirchen, near Munich; it employed about 100 Hungarians. Day in and day out, this station broadcast a programme for Hungary designed to indoctrinate the listeners in the spirit of resistance to the communist system. . . .

"Furthermore, the Crusade for Freedom, an organization allied to the 'Free Europe' Committee, periodically showered Hungary with leaflets dropped from thousands of balloons inciting the population to resist in the name of a non-existent Liberation Committee. . . . Many probably answered the appeals of 'Free Europe' during the revolt. . . . Were they not struggling in vain throughout all those days because they took the advice given by 'Free Europe' Radio on the eve of the American presidential elections? The radio station assured its listeners that if the armed insurrection would continue after the returns of the elections were published, Washington would then be able to make a move in the interest of Hungary."

In the same article *Le Monde* describes the methods employed by the directors of Radio "Free Europe" for checking up whether people in Hungary were listening in to their broadcasts. For example, long before the events precipitated in the autumn of 1956, "Free Europe" succeeded, according to *Le Monde*, in "provoking a real panic in Budapest by announcing that the 100-forint bills would allegedly be exchanged and marked by a special stamp. On the following day there was a run on the stores of Budapest, all the people hastening to spend the money which they believed would be lost."

We have it from the *Wall Street Journal* that since 1954 the Crusade for Freedom and other subversive organizations launched more than 400,000 balloons with 300 odd million anti-communist leaflets for dropping on the territory of Hungary and in other East European countries.

Not one of the several hundred people we met and talked

with in Hungary had a good word to say about the activities of "Free Europe" and other organizations of this kind.

Quite many confessions to this effect were made in the Western press.

The West German *Frankfurter Rundschau* wrote at the time of the Hungarian events: "The stream of propaganda directed by certain American authorities towards the states of the Eastern bloc (meaning the people's democratic countries) by means of balloons or radio broadcasts, is bearing terrible fruit."

The French weekly *Express* published on November 16 an article of its correspondent who had returned from Hungary. Here is what he wrote: "Everywhere in Budapest I met Hungarians from different walks of life who spoke with bitterness and even with hatred of the Americans, of Radio 'Free Europe,' of the balloons with propaganda leaflets sent to their country."

In the light of these facts, the authors believe it necessary to cite here some information about the activities of "Free Europe" Radio received from representatives of Hungarian public organizations. These activities unquestionably represent one of the most dangerous forms of intervention on the part of certain circles of the Western Powers in the internal affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Valeria Benke, Vice-President of the Budapest Radio Committee, told us:

"In its broadcasts immediately before October 23 and during the events that followed, 'Free Europe' was always anticipating the demands put forward by the counter-revolutionary elements inside the country. It was thus that 'Free Europe' was directly suggesting to the counter-revolutionaries what they should demand, and directed their operations.

"Before October 23, the 'Free Europe' broadcasts persisted in pressing the demand for the speediest removal of the 'Rákosist' elements from government and Party bodies. And that was at that time one of the main slogans of the

wide 'opposition' front, beginning with the group of Imre Nagy and ending with the most reactionary fascist elements which then were still acting in disguise.

"At that period 'Free Europe' was giving wide publicity to Imre Nagy as the leader who was allegedly capable of 'saving democracy' in Hungary. And it was persistently demanded that power in the country be turned over to Nagy and his group.

"But when immediately after October 23, Nagy became Prime Minister and was returned to the leadership of the Hungarian Working People's Party, 'Free Europe' went a step further in its demands: it called for the formation of a coalition government. This demand too was taken up at once by the reactionary elements inside the country.

"No sooner had the Nagy Government, which was constantly drifting further to the Right, decided to revive the multiple party system, the forces of reaction had decided that Nagy had already played his part and could go. Then 'Free Europe' began as early as on October 29 and 30 to campaign against Nagy, demanding his replacement by a leader more 'reliable' from the viewpoint of the reactionary forces.

"It is characteristic that when the Nagy Government had fallen and responsibility for the country's destinies was assumed by the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government headed by János Kádár, 'Free Europe' immediately took Imre Nagy under its protection again, boosting him as a 'national hero' and as the leader of the 'lawful government'!

" 'Free Europe' carried its interference into Hungarian affairs so far as to suggest even the candidates who, in its opinion, ought to be included in the government of Imre Nagy."

Here are some of the facts mentioned in the White Paper of the Hungarian Government, *The Counter-Revolutionary Forces in the October Events in Hungary*. Volume II of this paper says among other things:

"Radio 'Free Europe' was in essence the leading agency and organizer of the moves which developed into a counter-revolution. It broadcast not only alluring propaganda, but also concrete instructions to the rebels. Illegal radio stations were told how to conduct their broadcasts and on what wave-lengths. Those who did not lay down arms were urged to continue their resistance. . . . Colonel Bell, military expert and commentator of 'Free Europe,' was of the opinion that a ceasefire was 'as dangerous, as the Trojan horse.'

"It is known that the truce was really broken due precisely to the seditious propaganda of 'Free Europe' and to the impermissible intervention of some Western missions. On the following day, literally a few hours after the above-mentioned broadcast, attacks were started against the headquarters of the City Committee of the Party in Republic Square, and against other organizations; hundreds, nay, thousands of Communists and other democratically minded people were attacked.

"In the Hungarian-language broadcast of October 31, Colonel Bell was already giving more drastic instructions:

"'It is necessary to remove from the leadership of the Hungarian armed forces the communist leaders who should not have been there before! Fighters for freedom! Demand immediately for yourselves the portfolio of the Defence Minister and the posts of Commander-in-Chief and of Chief of the General Staff.'

"Such a demand was advanced shortly thereafter by counter-revolutionaries.

"On the same day 'Free Europe' broadcast the following comment:

"'The Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Defence Ministry are not yet in your hands. Fighters for freedom, do not surrender! Do not hang up your rifles on the wall. Not a gramme of coal, not a drop of oil should be given to the Budapest regime until the leadership of internal affairs and defence are in your hands.'"

As a result, Imre Nagy appointed Pal Maleter, one of the main leaders of the counter-revolutionary mutiny, Minister of Defence.

"During these events," Valeria Benke said, "the counter-revolutionaries had in their hands a great many radio transmitters (captured in the country or smuggled into Hungary from the West). All these transmitters maintained as a rule direct contact with 'Free Europe.'

"In this connection Volume II of the White Paper quotes the following statement made by Mr. Mendelson, *New Statesman and Nation* expert on East European affairs: "'Free Europe," which sent its radio propagandists to Győr was actively interfering [in the Hungarian events]. At the same time Munich Radio was incessantly broadcasting calls to struggle, and, according to reports from reliable German sources, it was constantly promising military assistance from the West.'

"There was, for example, an information centre with a radio transmitter set up by the rebels in a department store at Miskolc. Its work was directed by a former captain of the Horthyist army. Information on the development of the events and fighting in that area was regularly transmitted from there to Munich."

The fact that contact was maintained by "Free Europe" with the radio stations of the rebels is admitted also in the reports on past broadcasts published in its special bulletin. One of these bulletins, a photostatic copy of which Radio Budapest has recently received from France, contains the following record:

"On November 4, at 15.20 o'clock the transmitter of the rebels operating in the Csokonaly area, radioed the following: 'We ask "Free Europe" to dispatch immediately the following message to the Secretary General of the United Nations Organization.' This was followed by a report on the operations of the Soviet troops which had begun to suppress the counter-revolution at the request of the Kádár

Government. On the same day, at 16.15, 'Free Europe' replied to Csokonaly: 'Received your message. Please confirm.' "

* * *

Facts relating to the circulation of provocative reports and rumours by Radio "Free Europe" were communicated to the authors also by many Hungarians.

Zóltan Pozsgai of Győr, working at a local publishing house, told us that on November 5 "Free Europe" announced that, according to "authentic information" at its disposal, Soviet airplanes would bomb Sopron (a short distance from the Austrian border) in the next few hours. This naturally caused a panic among the population of Sopron. Local counter-revolutionaries took advantage of that and lost no time in arranging for the evacuation of the citizens of Sopron to Austria. Numerous Red Cross motor buses and lorries from Austrian territory removed more than 6,000 inhabitants, among them women, children and aged people. Sopron, of course, was not bombed, for the Soviet air force had nothing to do in general with the events in Hungary.

"I should also like to mention other provocations engineered in our region by 'Free Europe' Radio," said Pozsgai. "It time and again broadcast reports from Győr which did not correspond in the least to the real facts. That broadcasting station resorted to such swindling tricks: it recorded Győr radio broadcasts and then inserted into the tape its own inventions, transmitting it as broadcasts from Győr.

"That is how reports were hatched with references to our radio about 'Maleter's successful resistance to the Soviet Army' (at the time when Maleter was already arrested), or about severe fighting going on at Győr between 'insurgents' and the Soviet Army, and about the 'heavy destruction caused in the city.'

"Free Europe" circulated reports on the bombing and destruction of the Petőfi bridge in Győr, on the "assault" of Soviet units on the Győr hospital, and other canards. In

reality, as we learned from Pozsgai and many other citizens of the city, the Soviet units entered Győr without encountering any resistance. Not a shot was fired in the streets.

"On November 20, Radio 'Free Europe,' " Pozsgai added, "even arranged a 'special broadcast from Győr': it relayed a 'protest meeting' of the local population against the Kádár Government held allegedly in front of the city council. Then it broadcast prayers from the local church. . . . In reality, all this was just a sham engineered of imitation noises. There was no 'protest meeting' at Győr on the day in question, or on any other day."

* * *

In order to understand more clearly in whose interests "Free Europe" Radio is operating, we decided to find out who is employed in its "Hungarian department." This was the question we addressed to the Information Bureau of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, and here is the information we have received.

The "Hungarian department" was headed for a long time by Count Gyula Deseffi, who before 1945 was editor of an evening paper, organ of the big capitalists of Hungary. After Hungary's liberation from fascism, Deseffi joined the Smallholders' Party and became editor of the *Kis Usag*. In 1948, he fled to the West. Count Deseffi was recommended for work in Radio "Free Europe" (the personnel for which was and still is selected beyond doubt with the sanction of the Central Intelligence Administration of the U.S.A.) by the chiefs of the Hungarian émigrés in America, Ferenc Nagy and Béla Varga.

At the time of the October events Deseffi was replaced by a certain Andor Gellirt, an American of Hungarian origin who was naturalized in the U.S.A. in 1941. Gellirt is a journalist with extensive contacts among counter-revolutionary Hungarian émigrés.

The commentator of Radio "Free Europe," under the

pseudonym of Sándor Gideon, who is always recommended as a "specialist" on Party affairs and addresses his talks to Party members, is in reality Krizsan-Sándor Keresi, a former Trotskyite and an agent of the Hitlerite secret service. Up to the end of World War II he lived in Rumania whence he escaped together with the fascist troops at the time of the debacle of the Hitler army.

The "women's section" is managed by Katalin Hunada who broadcasts under the alias of Katalin Magyar. She is the wife of one of the closest associates of Horthy.

There is a special "sector for worker broadcasts" directed by Kobele József, one of the closest associates of Peyrer, Right-wing Social-Democratic leader who in his time concluded a pact with Horthy. Kobele broadcasts under the alias of Mihály Peter. His direct assistant in the "workers' sector" is László Mezeffi (alias László Lovas), a prominent lawyer under the Horthy regime.

Balint Czupi of the "sector for peasant broadcasts" is a big estate owner who fled from Sopron to Western Germany. He is called "Holder Balint." Another "Agrarian" operating there is Zoltan Kovács, alias Zoltan Károly, a former deputy of the Right wing of the Smallholders' Party.

The "youth sector" of the Hungarian department is directed by the fascist Emil Csonko, Szalasi's darling, formerly one of the chieftains of the youth organization controlled by the fascist Crossed Arrows. His alias is Gergel Vasvari.

The military commentator of the "Hungarian department" called "Colonel Bell" (facts from his activities have been cited earlier in this article) is Julian Borsani, a former officer of the Horthy army.

As we learned at the Information Bureau of the Council of Ministers of the H.P.R., these individuals were moved to the fore by the chiefs of Radio "Free Europe" as ... the more "democratic" elements. They have behind them big Horthyist leaders Baron Onno Brendenstein and Count Zsigmont Zicsi.

3. WHOM DID THE SO-CALLED WORKERS' COUNCILS SERVE?

At the Institute of History in Budapest we talked with the eminent historian Reti, a specialist on problems of the working-class movement. At the present time, in collaboration with other staff members of the institute, Reti is preparing a voluminous work devoted to last autumn's events. Considerable space in this book will be devoted to an analysis of the role of the "workers' councils."

"Immediately after October 23," Reti said, "so-called 'workers' councils,' 'revolutionary' or 'national' committees, were being set up everywhere. They claimed to be the organs of a new, revolutionary power. In reality, as is shown now by numerous facts, the counter-revolution attempted to take power into its own hands through the 'workers' councils' and 'revolutionary committees.'"

"The October events showed once more that the question of the councils as democratic organs of the working people's power cannot be considered isolated from the concrete situation in which the councils exist. We cannot avoid analyzing the real forces that acted in those councils.

"As in other problems, the Nagy Government played a predatory role in the question of the 'workers' councils.' On October 24, Nagy already spoke in support of setting up everywhere 'workers' councils' and 'revolutionary committees.'"

"The official support given by the Nagy Government to the new 'councils,' in which reactionary elements had already firmly established themselves, undermined the prestige of the existing organs of people's power. On the other hand, this action on the part of the government gave a semblance of legal status to the 'workers' councils' and 'revolutionary committees' through which the counter-revolution operated, at first secretly but later ever more openly.

"The history of the struggle waged by the working class for socialism already knows of instances when the councils, which are the most democratic form of working-class power,



Victims of counter-revolutionary terror





Criminals released from jail change clothes

were used by counter-revolutionary forces hostile to the people in their own interests, as, for example, the Soviets in Russia, in the summer of 1917. Events in Hungary in October 1956 showed more strikingly than ever that any organizational form can be used by reaction if the forces of progress fail to rebuff it properly.

"Waging a struggle for power in Hungary the reactionary elements within the 'workers' councils' acted under the demagogic slogans of 'full democracy,' 'pure democracy,' etc. But often these 'councils' or 'committees' were set up in violation of the elementary standards of democracy. They were simply proclaimed by an insignificant minority, by people who were under pressure of armed counter-revolutionary gangs.

"Here, for example, is how the 'revolutionary council' of the 12th District of Budapest was set up. On October 28, a crowd of about 200-250 people, the majority of whom were simply passers-by, gathered at the Southern Railway Terminal. Addressing the meeting, 24-year-old Rozsa Szokal, a draughtswoman at one of the Budapest factories, demanded that she be 'elected' chairman of the 'revolutionary council' of the 12th District. Szokal was one of the leaders of an armed counter-revolutionary group operating in that district. Besides her another 12 people were 'elected' on the spot, mainly members of the same counter-revolutionary group. The requirement for the 'candidates' was only one: not to have rendered any services to the people's democracy. And if the 'candidate' moreover declared that he had just come out of prison, this was almost a sure guarantee of his 'election.'

"Thus the 'revolutionary council' of an entire district in Budapest was 'elected' by a chance crowd under the baton of a gang of armed counter-revolutionaries. And this 'council' claimed to be acting on behalf of the masses of workers, on behalf of the people!

"In exactly the same way the 'revolutionary council' of the 6th District of Budapest came into existence on October

25. There too a group of chance people gathered, while the 'election' procedure was handled by an armed gang of counter-revolutionaries headed by Pal Kossa, a former member of the fascist Crossed Arrows party. During such elections the majority of the people present at the gatherings in Budapest and other large cities in general did not have the slightest idea as to whom they were 'electing.'

"In the villages and small towns it was somewhat different. Since the population knew each other better, the counter-revolutionary elements were more conspicuous there. And if the peasants of one or another village saw, for instance, that a former notary (that was the title of the village elder under the Horthy regime), landlord, kulak, or former gendarme spoke in favour of forming a 'revolutionary council,' they understood where the wind was blowing.

"There are therefore a number of cases when the rural population prevented the reactionary elements from capturing power.

"The position of the Nagy Government led to the disorganization of the work of the constitutionally-elected local people's councils—organs of people's democratic power—and baffled and threw into confusion wide masses of the working people.

"Also during the so-called 'elections' of 'national committees' in the provinces an insignificant minority of the population took part.

"About fifty people out of a population of 3,000 took part in the 'election' of the local 'revolutionary council' in the village of Bacsszejllos, Bacs Region. Out of 8,000 people only about 170 took part in the 'elections' in the village of Mejkut.

"Another example: in the town of Tiszafüred, which is the centre of a district with about thirty villages, the local 'revolutionary committee' was 'elected' by a crowd of 150 people.

"The meetings which were called in those days on the initiative of the counter-revolutionaries were attended mostly by anti-popular elements, former kulaks, various de-classed persons. Besides, a great number of former village elders, policemen and other such people (who worked in the preceding years in factories or on construction sites in big cities) returned to their villages to get back their former posts and privileges.

"After November 4, when, on the request of the Kádár Government, units of the Soviet Army came to the aid of the Hungarian people and the suppression of the counter-revolution began, the so-called 'revolutionary' and 'national' committees lasted only about 10-12 days in the provinces. In the meantime the constitutionally-elected local people's councils resumed their work. The 'revolutionary councils' dissolved themselves or were dissolved by the population."

* * *

As we were told at the Information Bureau under the Council of Ministers of the H.P.R., the Budapest "Central Workers' Council" had not been elected by anybody and had not received any powers from the workers' councils at the enterprises. On November 14, 1956, a group of reactionary members of "workers' councils" of some Budapest enterprises simply got together at the Eddesult Izzo Plant and agreed to organize a central "council." As distinct from the "workers' councils" at factories, this was a territorial organ. The following day this same group assembled in the offices of the city tram-line and declared themselves the "Central Workers' Council." They set up a presidium of five people, a secretariat, a political committee, an organizational section, and a press section.

What was the platform of the "Central Workers' Council"? The reactionary elements of the "council" declared that they did not recognize the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government of Hungary. All their activities were directed at the seizure of power in the country. The "Cen-

tral Workers' Council" came out against the setting up of organizations of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party at the enterprises and also passed a decision aimed at the liquidation of the All-Hungarian Council of Trade Unions.

To achieve their aims the reactionary elements in the leadership of the "Central Workers' Council" staged strikes and sabotaged the resumption of work and the normalization of life in the country.

The leaders of the "Central Workers' Council" maintained direct contacts with the ringleaders of the counter-revolutionary putsch and with the fascist émigré circles abroad. A member of the "council," József Nemeskery, a technical worker who had previously been tried as a criminal, was a member of a counter-revolutionary armed gang that operated in the 7th District of Budapest. During the armed rebellion he was connected with Béla Király and Sándor Kopacsi, and with the counter-revolutionary command in the Corvin department store (the Dudas group).

Another member of the "council," Sándor Bali, already after the dissolving of that self-styled body got in touch with fascist émigré circles through Peter Renner, a spy sent to Budapest by Béla Király to organize illegal subversive activities against the people's democratic system.

We met engineer Geza Kalocsai, former Deputy Chairman of the "Central Workers' Council," at his home on Brodi Sándor Street.

"The majority of the council members," Kalocsai said, "did not know each other previously, and it was not always clear whom one is dealing with. In the 'Central Council' the reactionary elements had taken the upper hand. These people only talked about socialism but actually pursued quite different aims."

In November the "Central Workers' Council" sent a delegation to negotiate with the Kádár Government.

"The delegation was immediately received by János Kádár," Kalocsai said. "He told us that he could not recognize the 'Central Workers' Council' as a plenipotentiary body,

since, in the opinion of the government, workers' councils should exist only at factories. Kádár added, however, that he was ready to talk with us as with people of good intentions.

"Kádár stated that the task of the workers' councils lay not in politics but in industrial production. The workers' councils in Hungary were something new, not yet established, and it wasn't clear so far how they could function, but at the present time the main question was how to launch production as soon as possible. First it was necessary to start the factories working, and then agreement could be reached on other questions."

But, according to Kalocsai, it was politics and not production that the "Central Workers' Council" occupied itself with. Thus, for example, it was decided to convene in Budapest representatives of the "workers' councils" throughout the country. But the government prohibited such a conference.

"However," continued Kalocsai, "some of the 'council' members convened this conference illegally without the knowledge of the other members of the 'council.' When we learned about this, we went to the Trade-Union House where it was taking place. I declared at this conference that such a policy wasn't proper—to conduct negotiations with the government in the morning, while in the evening convene an illegal conference and come out against the government.

"There were big arguments as to whether to start a two-day strike or to refrain from doing so. The majority were beginning to show an inclination against a strike. At this moment several people ran into the hall crying out that Soviet troops fired upon miners in Tátabánya. The representatives of Tátabánya who were present at the conference immediately declared that they were in favour of the strike."

That is how a decision was adopted by the "Central Workers' Council" for a two-day strike. Later it was learned that the news of the shooting of workers in Tátabánya by

Soviet troops was a barefaced lie. The provocateurs had simply fooled the people attending the conference.

In this period some of the members of the "council" (12 people) began to take an ever firmer stand against the provocations of the reactionaries managing all the affairs. This opposition group, which included Kalocsai, came out for resuming the talks with Kádár and preventing the strike. On December 9, however, the Kádár Government declared that due to the hostile activities of some of the territorial "workers' councils" they were being outlawed and were told to terminate their activities. The government statement pointed out that the "Central Workers' Council" had desired to occupy itself only with political problems and to set up a new organ of state power.

In winding up the interview, Kalocsai said that he welcomed the process of normalization of life in the country. "The Kádár Government," he said, "unquestionably enjoys the confidence of the working people."

* * *

Who were the people that used the "workers' councils" as tools of counter-revolution?

Here are a few examples: chairman of the "oil-prospecting and surveying workers' council" (6th District of Budapest) was Kornel Tolnai, son of a Horthy general.

Chairman of the "textile equipment workers' council" (Obud) was Oszkar Rozsahedi, a former member of the Nilasi fascist party. One of the members of the council was Gyula Boros, son of a lieutenant-colonel of the Horthy army.

One of the ringleaders in the "workers' council" of the Budapest Electrical Engineering Works was a fascist, Baron Urban Bodog.

The activities of the "workers' council" of the gas works in the city of Obud were guided by Ferenc Habersztok, a former S.S. trooper who had served a ten-year sentence as a war criminal, and Kalman Fejes, a Horthy officer.

The "mining workers' council" of Pilis included former members of the Nilasi fascist party, István Baric and László Balazsi, and Alajos Knok, a man with an extensive criminal record, and Ferenc Kivacs, a former member of the Volksbund.

The "workers' council" of the Gyosgy ball-bearing works included Antal Vattai, son of Baron Vattai, a Horthy lieutenant-general. His assistants were the former Horthy gendarme János Bogacs and the former Horthy colonel Bertalan Kando.

Chairman of the "workers' council" of the Győr Textile and Wool-Spinning Mills was Sándor Berger, a former officer of the Horthy army.

The "workers' council" of the glass works in Ajka included 14 former members of the Nilasi fascist party.

These examples are not exceptions or choice facts. The third volume of the White Paper published by the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic has a special chapter where dozens of pages contain similar factual data on the composition of the "revolutionary committees" and "workers' councils."

Here is the story of how the "workers' council" was set up at the Ganz Plant as told us by workers employed there.

At first the "workers' council," set up after October 24, consisted chiefly of those who had come to protect the plant (the rest of the workers were absent, for the plant was not operating during these eventful days). Out of the 30 members of the initial make-up of the council 50 per cent were Communists. But the reactionary elements, making use of the political confusion that reigned at the time, launched a struggle to have the Communists driven out of the council.

At the beginning of December only one Communist, Sándor Nagy who had worked many years at the Ganz Plant, remained in it. Who made up the new leadership of the "workers' council" at the Ganz Plant?

Formally the chairman of the "council" was Gyorgy Len-

dvoj, a man of extreme Rightist views, an ardent nationalist, but he too was only a screen for the open reactionaries and fascists who operated behind his back. These were Florija Szaloti, a captain in the Horthy police; engineer Imre Botka, son of a big kulak who possessed at one time 180 hold of land; Sándor Oszfolk, a Right-wing Social-Democrat, and the fascist Tomas Lukacs. The organizer and leader of the counter-revolutionary forces at the plant was Dr. László Tokacs, son of the former director of the Ganz Plant during the Horthy regime. During the years of the people's power Tokacs worked at the plant in the capacity of legal adviser.

* * *

Tolnai, chairman of the united trade-union committee at the Csepel Works, cited many facts showing how the reactionary elements ran the show in the Csepel "workers' council."

"After October 25 'workers' councils' began to appear at the works. Many former Horthyists and kulaks managed to get into the 'councils' at once. These elements skilfully utilized the political and ideological confusion that reigned at the time. And Imre Nagy made things still worse by giving official government recognition to these self-styled councils as 'organs of revolutionary power.'

"Who set the tone in directing the entire activity of the 'workers' councils'? Such types as Elek Nagy, son of a kulak and a careerist. On joining the Party he concealed the fact that he had served at one time in the S.S. detachments of Szalasi. When this was discovered he was expelled from the Hungarian Working People's Party.

"Nagy took an active part in the work of the Petőfi circle which had become an ideological centre of preparing counter-revolution and he also visited the embassies of the Western Powers. Our workers had noticed long ago the following fact: when Western newspapermen visited our works several times (that was before October 23) they in-

variably asked for Elek Nagy, they even knew where he worked and what job he held. It is not for nothing that the Western press and radio glorified this S.S. man and counter-revolutionary as a 'national hero.'

"Elek Nagy was the chairman of the 'workers' council' of Csepel. And the secretary was technician Geza Szeneczei, a former Horthy officer. There were also other Horthy officers about in one or another capacity, such as József Kulcsar or engineer Tokacs, an adherent of Mindszenty. It was precisely these fascists and demagogues such as László Deveni, a former deputy of the Smallholders' Party at the time of the Horthy regime, that ran the 'council.'

"What did their activities consist of?" continued Tolnai. "The first decision adopted by the 'council' was to dismiss the directors of all the Csepel plants, and prohibit the activities of all Party and trade-union organizations. Who were these directors of the plants, dismissed by the so-called workers' council? All of them, formerly ordinary workers, rose to become engineers under the people's government, many of them heading the ministries now.

"Since 1945 over 5,500 Csepel workers were advanced to different managerial posts, going as far as the ministries. Thus the present Minister of Heavy Industry Sándor Czott-nor was a rolling-mill operator at Csepel. Antal Katton, First Deputy Minister of Transport, is a former Csepel turner. Ferenc Hidasi, Deputy Minister of the Metallurgical and Engineering Industries, also worked here as a turner. The First Deputy Minister of Labour, József Mekis, also comes from Csepel, where he held the post of director at one of the plants.

"How come that the reactionaries who got into the 'workers' council' made themselves popular among the more backward section of the workers? They simply gave away right and left the manufactured goods stored in the factories—sewing machines, bicycles and other articles. At that they did not forget themselves, of course. During the

management of these reactionary elements at Csepel, goods valued at 240 million forints were distributed or stolen."

"Thus," said Tolnai in conclusion, "the reactionaries who controlled the 'workers' council' at that period only paid lip-service to democracy and socialism while duping the workers. In reality they stimulated anarchy and arbitrariness, sabotaged production, and plundered people's property, thus clearing the way for the restoration of the old regime. All these facts go to show that the 'workers' councils' at that time were merely tools in the hands of the counter-revolution and served its ends, and not those of the working people."

* * *

The reign of the counter-revolutionary elements in the "workers' councils" met with increasing dissatisfaction on the part of the workers. In November and December 1956, many letters from workers complaining about the provocative, subversive activity of the counter-revolutionaries in the "workers' councils" came pouring into government bodies and public organizations.

And here is what we were told by Sándor Bácsi, a worker of the Kispest Tractor Works.

"On Saturday, November 17, the workers of our plant gathered in the assembly shop to hear a report on the activities of the 'workers' council.' After the resolution on continuing the strike was read, 2,500 people in the shop promptly raised a roar.

"The extreme reactionaries had under their influence about 30 per cent of the waverers. The other section of the meeting, about half, shouted: 'Listen, we want to work!' The Rightist section replied to this: 'We are not interested, we won't work.'

"The meeting continued from 10 a.m. until 12.30. However, a decision to resume work at the plant was not adopted. The reactionaries saw that the majority wanted to work, that the people were on the side of the Kádár Govern-

ment. Therefore the 'workers' council' arranged for a secret vote to be held on the 19th in order to gain time. The reactionaries launched a propaganda campaign at the factory for continuing the strike. They did not work and demonstratively played cards.

"The forward-looking workers campaigned for resuming work and helped people grasp what was taking place and encouraged them. They called upon them not to cut the corners of the ballots but throw them into the urn intact, which meant they wanted to work.

"The results of the voting announced at one o'clock in the afternoon showed that five times more workers voted for resuming work than for continuing the strike.

"Thus, it became clear that there were at least five times more Leftists at the Kispest factory with its staff of four thousand than Rightists."

In conclusion Sándor Bácsi said:

"The progressive proletariat of all countries should not despise the Hungarian people, for the Hungarian working class has not rejected internationalism, or the socialist world outlook. Of course, were it not for the Soviet Union Hungary would have been thrown back into fascism. But with the aid of the U.S.S.R. we defended socialism and will honestly fulfil our duty towards the democratic world."

II. WHOM THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S COURTS ARE TRYING

1. CRIMINALS IN THE ROLE OF FREEDOM FIGHTERS

London radio on July 17 broadcast another of its reports on "violence" in Hungary, speaking of the death sentence passed on the "freedom fighter" László Lendjel in Miskolc.

We happened to be in Budapest at the time and on the next day visited Dr. Tibor Li, President of the Criminal Collegium of the Supreme Court of the Republic, and asked him to tell us just what László Lendjel stood accused of.

László Lendjel had committed several murders in the lawless days of the counter-revolution. He had beaten Lieutenant József Yuhasz half to death and then hanged him. Under his leadership a group of murderers like himself had hurled themselves on another Hungarian military man and beat him until his corpse was a bloody mess, then hanged him on the monument to the Soviet soldiers who fell in the war against fascism for the liberation of Hungary in 1945.

The witnesses in court testified that László Lendjel's hands on that day were stained with blood to the elbows, that he had been guilty of many lynchings not only of Hungarian servicemen, but of all sorts of people who happened to be wearing yellow shoes resembling those issued to the army.

László Lendjel was sentenced to death.

"After this," said Dr. Tibor Li, "you will no doubt see the justice of the sentence yourselves. A good deal is now

being written and broadcast in the West about the current trials of bandits and murderers in Hungary; and we, the older Hungarian judges, cannot help asking ourselves why Western propaganda has chosen to take up the defence of criminals whose crimes would have justly earned them no less severe sentences in London, Munich, Vienna, Rome, or New York. Is it possible that they encourage murder and murderers? Don't they invoke the death sentence for criminals who have committed murder with a forethought? As we know, they do condemn such criminals, and justly so.

"The people's courts of the Hungarian People's Republic," continued Dr. Tibor Li, "from the lowest to the highest, heard 622 cases since February 1, 1957, and sentenced 1,089 criminals. To let all honest people know whom we tried and what for, I shall briefly tell of these trials, but first I must mention that only 23 death sentences were passed in all the 622 cases."

Just what prompted these sentences will best be seen from the material of the trials.

In Budapest recently there was the trial of a group of criminals including Ferenc Palhazi, Rezse Varga, and Zoltán Preisz.

Who is Ferenc Palhazi? He is 54 years old. In the 1920's he served with the gendarmes for a number of years; in 1944, he joined the fascist army of Horthy as a senior lieutenant. From 1945 he was tried four times for various crimes. The counter-revolution freed him from prison where he was serving a sentence for theft. Immediately after this, he became one of the closest friends and collaborators of Dudas and headed a group called "Scalp Hunters"; this name which the group received from Dudas speaks for itself. This group of murderers participated in plundering the Budapest City Party Committee, and in monstrosly annihilating those who were present at the committee. They plundered the shops and terrorized the people of Budapest.

Another member of this band is Rezse Varga; he is a

youth of 18, but was already previously convicted of a felony. He too was freed from prison by the counter-revolution in the first days of November. He was an active member of the "Scalp Hunters" and according to his own admission committed no less than eight murders.

Zóltán Preisz was both a murderer and a spy. He was employed until 1952 as a prosecuting investigator, but was convicted of accepting bribes and sentenced to eight years imprisonment in 1953. Freed from prison by the counter-revolution, he at once began to fight actively against the people's power and took part in several murders, with his own hands murdering Prosecutor Sarkagy who had been the accuser at his trial in 1953.

In December 1956, Zóltán Preisz fled to Austria, but returned to Hungary in 1957 with a special espionage mission. As he himself told the court, in Vienna he had been urged to return to Hungary to obtain a military map of the country through the officers of the Cartographic Institute—this for generous remuneration. The Hungarian with whom he negotiated about this in Vienna, moreover, had told him that this "matter" was being subsidized by the American Embassy in Vienna and that payment, therefore, would be made in dollars.

When Preisz agreed, he at once received an advance payment of \$2,000; he was to receive \$50,000 more after completing his task.

It was for this that Preisz came to Budapest and contacted the officers he needed at the Cartographic Institute; these officers reported the matter to the security organs, and as a result, Preisz was caught red-handed in a Budapest café.

All three of the criminals got their just deserts. Ferenc Palhazi and Zóltán Preisz were condemned to death, while Rezse Varga, who is not yet twenty, was sentenced to life imprisonment.

"The acts of banditry perpetrated by these criminals are many," said Dr. Tibor Li, "but I shall mention a few more.

These bandits are the selfsame 'freedom fighters,' as they are now called in the West, and I would like all honest people to know just who is meant when they talk of the 'freedom fighters' in Hungary.

"A lower court has just reviewed the cases of Lajos Nagy, János Szabo, and Imre Virag. All three were detained on November 16, last year, for an attempt to rob the post office in the city of Kecskemet.

"Lajos Nagy, a former S.S. man, had already been convicted of criminal offences seven times. Imre Virag had been convicted 11 times for theft, robbery, and banditry. János Szabo had been sentenced for theft and the possession of arms in 1947, but was amnestied at the beginning of 1956."

The prison doors of Nagy and Virag were opened by the counter-revolution.

It was established at their trials that this group of criminals had engaged in banditry during the counter-revolution and used arms as a threat when systematically robbing cash-boxes, various establishments, and private persons. Keeping a part of the booty for themselves, they transferred the rest to the fund of the counter-revolution.

Miklos Olah together with Lázsló Lukovics murdered Hungarian army Major Sándor Obrendek in Miskolc when the latter came out unarmed to negotiate with the crowd. After this, the two criminals shot two Soviet soldiers. Miklos Olah was sentenced to death.

The criminals Cziraki, Bodes, and the two Turcsi brothers were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. During the counter-revolution they came to the home of a worker employed in a machine and tractor station in Somogy District, a man who in 1954 had served with the troops of the Ministry of Interior. The criminals dragged him from his bed, hurled him into the street, and beat him half dead. After this, they returned to his home and in the presence of his little son monstrously raped his wife.

"A good deal has been written and said in the West about

the trials of these murderers and violators," said Dr. Li. "We have been accused of cruelty, but actually we have been too lenient, since these so-called 'freedom fighters,' in ten days shot, hanged, and did to death 2,700 Hungarians, killing 1,800 in Budapest alone.

"But the courts of the Hungarian People's Republic are the courts of the people," concluded Dr. Tibor Li. "They safeguard the gains of the people's power, the interests of the Hungarian people. They punish criminals, but severely protect the rights of the citizens and thoroughly examine the circumstances of every crime.

"Now, after the suppression of the counter-revolution, when many crimes of the counter-revolutionaries have come to light, it sometimes happens that a lower court will examine a case with a view only of certain specific crimes perpetrated by the one or the other of the accused during the counter-revolution, and will therefore pronounce a sentence too lenient. When such cases are then reviewed in their essence by the Supreme Court of the Republic, additional facts come to light about the connection between crimes committed by the same individual, factors that greatly increase his guilt. Owing to these additional circumstances, the Supreme Court, therefore, is compelled in some cases to augment the punishment.

"The opposite too may happen: the Supreme Court may review the case of one criminal or another sentenced by the lower people's court and find extenuating circumstances which make it possible to impose a lesser penalty."

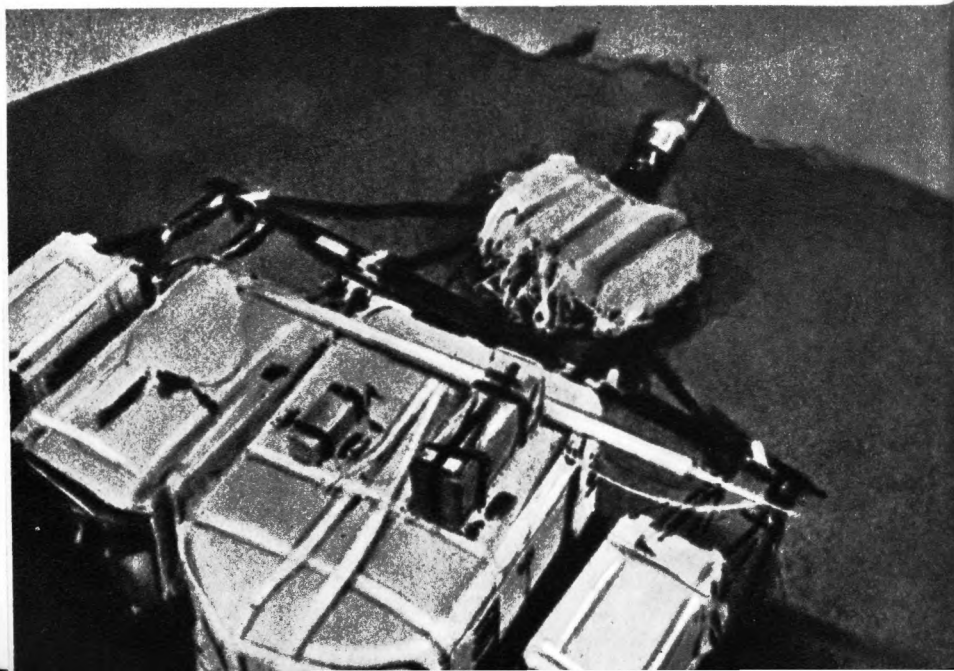
"We are aware that during the counter-revolutionary mutiny in Hungary a part of the Hungarian workers, office employees, peasants, and students did not at once realize what went on and sometimes fell under the influence of the demagogic propaganda of the 'Free Europe' Radio and rampant fascist elements. Under the influence of this propaganda, some workers and intellectuals committed crimes against the people's power and found themselves in the prisoner's dock as a result.

These weapons were brought to Hungary during the counter-revolutionary rebellion





U.S. apparatus used on balloons



"The people's courts," continued Dr. Li, "have carefully examined such cases and have at times exonerated the accused, duly considering the fact that these had been led astray, had made a clean breast of it and now deeply regretted their actions. Thus, Ferenc Karmos of Miskolc was exonerated though accused of illegal possession of arms. Likewise exonerated was the worker Lidermaier, the former chairman of one of the so-called 'revolutionary committees' in the city of Szabadbattyán, Fehér District. He was accused of appealing for the overthrow of the lawful Government of the Hungarian People's Republic.

"Many of the accused convicted of petty crimes during the counter-revolutionary putsch were given suspended sentences, i.e., the accused was set free with the provision that conviction would be removed if he committed no other crime in the space specified by his sentence.

"Many cases of acquittal and suspended sentences could be cited."

Dr. Tibor Li then said that the case of two murderers was now being heard in the courtroom of the Supreme Court.

We attended the court session. Here is the gist of the case:

The men in the dock were József Nagy and Imre Farkas. They were being tried for the murder of András Bardos, a turner of the Csepel Works and Kossuth Prize Winner.

This occurred on October 26, 1956. Bardos had received his pay at the plant and was going home carrying a package of food and some grapes for his nine-year-old son and baby daughter. Near his house, in front of a church, he met a large crowd. "This man shot a child!" shouted some provocateur from the crowd. Someone fired among the gang; the bullet pierced András Bardos' heart and he fell dead.

The investigation established that Bardos' murderer was József Nagy who had belonged to an armed gang headed by Imre Farkas. Both of the accused had confessed their crimes.

The lower court had sentenced József Nagy and Imre Farkas to death, but the case was taken up again by the Supreme Court of the Republic on the plea of the accused.

Many of those who had worked with Bardos and knew him well were present in the hall.

After the case had been heard, an elderly worker who sat next to us observed: "Bardos had been my friend for many years. We worked together. He was supporting his aged parents, his wife and two small children. He was an honest man and a good worker. It was not by accident that the counter-revolution directed its arms against the best people of our country. Many of us were led astray and deceived by the lying propaganda conducted from the West, but the bloody crimes of these and similar 'freedom fighters' have opened our eyes, and we Hungarian workers will never let ourselves be deceived again."

After an interval, the judge announced the sentence of the Supreme Court. In view of the fact that the accused József Nagy and Imre Farkas had been guilty of nothing before this crime and had taken no part in the counter-revolutionary events after October 26, the Supreme Court had found it possible to commute the death penalty of Imre Farkas, leader of the armed gang, to life imprisonment, and to commute the death penalty of the immediate murderer József Nagy to twenty years' imprisonment.

When we were in Hungary at the end of July, the newspapers reported a number of arrests carried out by the security organs.

We accordingly asked the Ministry of the Interior of the Hungarian People's Republic just who was arrested by the security organs and why? Here is what we learned.

The security organs have of late arrested various fascist elements, among them members of armed gangs and overt fascist parties and organizations which emerged during the counter-revolution, as well as former generals and officers of the Horthy army who did not reconcile themselves to the

defeat of the counter-revolution in Hungary and were preparing fresh armed provocations against the people's power.

One of the arrested was Karoly Zajgovari, head of the Christian Hungarian Party founded on November 1, 1956. The programme of this party called for the annulment of all the laws adopted by the people's power since 1945 and the introduction of legislation of fascist times. The Christian Hungarian Party also called for the denationalization of industry and the transformation of state enterprises, for the beginning, into stock companies. Karoly Zajgovari himself had come out with repeated demands for the rehabilitation of former active fascists and the reinstatement of former Horthy officers.

Besides Karoly Zajgovari, twelve other leaders of the Christian Hungarian Party were arrested. After the suppression of the counter-revolution, the leading nucleus of the party had gone underground and worked out fresh plans to overthrow the people's power. A search of the apartments of the arrested yielded the minutes of their meetings, the programme of their party, weapons, and a large number of printed leaflets calling for armed struggle against the power of the working people.

Likewise arrested were the members of the underground Christian Front founded in 1947 with the blessings of Cardinal Mindszenty, the former fascist government commissar Jenő Soltesz and the former monk József Szigeti. This party with a membership of about 60 was made up of various fascist elements and Horthy politicians. The party's programme, confiscated during the arrest of Jenő Soltesz, reads: "The Christian Front advocates the periodic election of a King and recognizes the Holy Crown under State Law."

The conspiracy of Jenő Soltesz and his accomplices was exposed in June 1956 and all were arrested. Freed from prison by the counter-revolution, they at once began a wide agitation for their party. After the defeat of the counter-revolution, the members of the Christian Front went under-

ground, worked out the forms and means of illegal struggle, and spread all sorts of provocative rumours and leaflets calling for the overthrow of the lawful Government of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Among the accused was István Asztalos, one of the counter-revolutionary ideologists who during the counter-revolution set up the so-called All-Hungarian Bloc of Non-Party People, an organization demanding the removal of the land from the peasants and the restoration of the land and estates to the former landowners, the transformation of the state enterprises into stock companies and establishment of police surveillance over all former guerrillas and active functionaries of the people's power.

Another of the arrested was Hugo Najra, who had been the personal secretary of Archduke József in 1919 and then for many years headed the Bethlen Party of the Budapest Magistrate. Hugo Najra was closely connected with Mindszenty. During the counter-revolution, Hugo Najra, blind with hatred for the people's democratic system, ran about the streets of Budapest arms in hand despite his advanced age and slaughtered innocent people.

Another of the imprisoned is Ferenc Mateovics, an active participant in the counter-revolutionary events in the city of Pécs. He had once taken direct part in Mindszenty's conspiracy against the people's democratic system and had been convicted for this, but was set free by amnesty in 1956. During the counter-revolution, Ferenc Mateovics, arriving in Budapest from Pécs, repeatedly came out demanding the liquidation of the people's democratic system in Hungary.

The security organs also arrested Vilmos Poltari, a former general of the Horthy gendarmerie, who had been a war criminal and back in 1944 had escaped retribution by fleeing to Austria where he served as chief of a concentration camp. Later, Vilmos Poltari returned to Hungary and obtained employment in a higher school of horticulture. During the counter-revolution he, the former gendarmerie Colonel Bertalan Zsoter, and the Horthy officer Rudolf Sal-

lai, set up a "revolutionary committee" and took punitive action, perpetrating violence against Communists—a matter in which Vilmos Poltari had acquired much experience during the fascist regime. The members of this "revolutionary committee" made the rounds of industrial enterprises and terrorized foremost workers.

Poltari's right hand, Rudolf Sallai, moreover, himself took part in the lynching of citizens of Budapest on Szen Square as a member of the Dudas gang. Just how Rudolf Sallai regarded his place in society may be seen from the following. As has become known, he told his "reliable friends" even in May this year: "I am surprised that I am still free."

Investigations continue in the case of a counter-revolutionary group of clergymen who were recently arrested. Their headquarters were located in the Central Theological Seminary of Budapest. It was there that they printed their leaflets, from there they supplied food to the armed counter-revolution, and there they concealed murderers after the suppression of the counter-revolution.

The Horthy officer István Tabogy, a fourth-year student of the seminary, together with two other students prepared a pamphlet even this January, extolling the counter-revolution and calling for fresh action against the people's power.

One of the leaders of this counter-revolutionary group was the once well-known fascist Egon Albert Turcsani. He had once been an active member of the fascist party and served as Mindszenty's personal secretary in October-November last year. Later he had attempted to flee from the country with false documents, but was detained. Another leader of this counter-revolutionary group was the former Horthy lieutenant-colonel Pal Lieskovszky. Arms and large quantities of seditious leaflets and printing equipment were found during their arrests.

Another large group active in the counter-revolution was arrested. It was comprised of former fascists and criminals

who took part in the lynching of workers, peasants and the murder of Soviet soldiers.

As we were told by the Ministry of the Interior of Hungary, all the arrested are now detained in camps, while the police organs continue to investigate their crimes in the days of rampant counter-revolution.

2. WHO WAS INTERESTED IN COUNTER-REVOLUTION

What we were interested in mainly was:
Who then took an active part in the counter-revolution?

We found the answer in our conversations with the Hungarians.

The counter-revolutionary forces in Hungary acted and asserted themselves in different ways.

Former active fascists, Horthy officers and gendarmes, rose in open struggle against the people's power. The people's power generously offered them an opportunity after World War II to work honestly for the good of their native land, giving them all rights and liberties despite their grave guilt towards their country. They had not resigned themselves, after all, to the loss of those special rights and privileges they had enjoyed during the reign of fascism in Hungary, and observing with hatred during the last 12 years the successes of the workers' and peasants' young state, they exulted at some of its mistakes and failures, spread various provocative rumours, fanned anti-popular moods, and waited for an opportunity to strike a mortal blow at the people's power and throw the country back into the fascist past.

There were quite a few such people in Hungary.

Suffice it to mention that there were over 300,000 former active adherents of the fascist party—gendarmes, S.S. men and Horthy officers—living freely in Hungary, which until 1945 had closely bound up its fate with Hitler Germany.

After the defeat of fascism they scattered throughout the country, occupying themselves with whatever they could and waiting for better times.

It was precisely that group of the population that took an active part in the events that occurred in Hungary at the end of October and beginning of November last year. They acted openly and cruelly, for they had nothing to lose—this was their last and only chance to revive the old order in the country, the order done away with in Hungary in 1945.

In order to grasp the reasons for the cruelties and murders committed by the putschists on the streets of Budapest and other towns and villages of Hungary, it should also be borne in mind that from the very first days of the counter-revolution nearly 10,000 criminals were let loose from the prisons in various towns. They immediately armed themselves, and, as a rule, made up the main contingent of the armed bandit groups of assassins or, as they are called by the Western press and radio, "freedom fighters."

They actually defended their freedom with arms in hand—the *freedom of criminals* against just retribution. They killed, knifed, and hanged people with bestial cruelty; they took vengeance on individuals and on the people's power, which had punished them justly for the crimes they had committed previously.

We already talked about them and their crimes in the previous chapter.

But there was another group of active counter-revolutionaries. These people hated the people's democratic order no less than the criminals or the fascist gendarmes, but in view of their position and advanced age they did not run along the streets with tommy-guns in hand, they did not shoot or hang anyone. While separate groups of the students were carrying on their endless meetings, and the criminals and former fascists perpetrated bloody outrages in the streets, they sat in comfortable arm-chairs in their drawing-rooms and discussed over a cup of coffee the "foundation of

Hungary's future social system" after the counter-revolution's triumph.

They discussed this problem not because they were of different opinions; no, they were unanimous on the point that private property both in town and countryside must form the basis of the future system. But they understood that the ideas of socialism had taken deep root among the Hungarian people and that it wouldn't be an easy task to turn the country back. That is why they were discussing how best to camouflage their intentions, how best to fool the people and again put Hungary on the capitalist path of development.

Who are these people? First of all it is Cardinal József Mindszenty, Geza Bornemisza, former fascist Minister of Industry; Count Karoly Khuen-Héderváry, one of the biggest landowners in former Hungary; Sándor Knob, former Secretary General of the Horthyist Manufacturers' Association; the fascist general Karoly Lazar, former bodyguard of Horthy; Ferenc Remhegyi, former colonel of the fascist General Staff, and others of the same ilk.

Cardinal József Mindszenty whom the British newspaper *Scotsman* deservedly called "the spiritual leader of the events," has taken refuge in the American Legation in Budapest, so we did not have a chance to talk with him personally. Therefore we'll have to show his views on the events from documents. We took his last public appearance, his broadcast over Radio Budapest on November 3, 1956.

In his November 3 speech Mindszenty appraised the victory of the counter-revolution as an accomplished fact, and he spoke about the people's democratic order in the past tense, as of an "overthrown order." The cardinal announced that private property would form the basis of the new order. But Mindszenty figured that it was still too early to talk concretely about the transfer of the land to the landowners and the Church, and the factories to the capitalists, and therefore he said: "I intentionally did not touch upon spe-

cific problems in my speech, because as it is everything has been stated quite clearly."

Indeed, everything in Mindszenty's speech was quite clear.

Everybody understood him. Many workers and peasants with whom we happened to talk stated that only after Mindszenty's speech had the veil of shameless demagoguery conducted by Western radio stations for Hungarian consumption as well as by the counter-revolutionaries within the country fallen completely from their eyes. Rank-and-file Hungarians told us that only after listening to Mindszenty's speech did they realize that the chief object of the counter-revolution was to restore capitalism and fascism in the country.

Mindszenty's speech was also understood by those who waited 12 years until "the basis of the new regime would be private property." The cardinal's words were a signal for them; after his speech they decided that their hour had struck. That is why precisely after Mindszenty's broadcast the Bornemisza group decided immediately to launch the publication of a newspaper the next day, i.e., November 4, which was to be the mouthpiece of the big industrialists, and to carry in the very first issue Mindszenty's speech and his portrait, as well as a denationalization programme. But we'll talk about that a bit further.

Now Mindszenty is staying at the American Legation, and his adherents, the former industrial and land magnates of fascist Hungary, at the Budapest prison on Kozma Street.

The Hungarian press carried the news about their arrest on July 25, and several days later we asked the Ministry of the Interior of Hungary permission to interview them. Our request was granted.

Thus we visited the prison on Kozma Street.

Kovács, the commandant of the prison, acquainted us with this institution. We visited several cells for the convicts: there were two or three people in these small, light

chambers. They were for war criminals, sentenced for their crimes during World War II, spies, subversionists, and assassins.

Here we interviewed Geza Bornemisza, former fascist minister of industry. After graduating from the Budapest University after World War I, he soon became an active participant in the fascist movement in Hungary.

Beginning with 1935 and until the rout of fascism, Geza Bornemisza held first the post of Minister of Trade, and later Minister of Industry in fascist governments.

After the end of the World War II Geza Bornemisza was not tried as a war criminal, although the Nazi Minister for Industry in Germany was sentenced together with the chief war criminals. He was given a chance to work in full freedom and atone for his guilt before the Hungarian people by honest labour, as also for his guilt before the peoples of Europe who had fallen prey to fascist aggression and tyranny. At first Bornemisza worked as an engineer in the foreign trade system, and later as engineer at the Budapest lamp factory.

But, as it appeared, soon after the end of the war Bornemisza already set up an illegal organization which included several leading figures of the fascist regime, namely: Count Karoly Khuen-Héderváry, General Karoly Lazar, Sándor Knob, and others. The members of this organization met regularly in someone's apartment and drew up plans for overthrowing the people's democratic system in Hungary. By 1948 they already drew up a new government and its programme. They staked their hopes not on internal forces but on armed intervention from the West.

In 1956, and especially after the outbreak of the October events in Hungary, the counter-revolutionary organization headed by Bornemisza became more active.

Replying to our question as to his and his friends' attitude towards the people's democratic order, Geza Bornemisza said:

"There is no use concealing that I, just as all my colleagues, was opposed to the people's democratic system and wished its overthrow. I would err, if I said that I was its adherent."

Bornemisza told us that long before the October events he personally had drawn up a programme for the denationalization of industry in Hungary. Under this programme small and medium enterprises were to be immediately returned to their former owners or sold, while the large plants were to be reorganized into corporations.

"My plan was discussed at our conferences and adopted unanimously," Bornemisza said. "We wanted to publish this on November 2 or 3, but Cardinal Mindszenty told us that the time had not yet come. His broadcast on November 3 was a signal for me, and we already intended to start our paper on November 4 with the cardinal's speech and my plan."

After interviewing Bornemisza we spoke to another member of this organization, the former Count Karoly Khuen-Héderváry. Just like Bornemisza, he bears great responsibility for the crimes the fascists had committed in Europe. But similar to Bornemisza, Héderváry was not tried as a war criminal after 1945. Before the Hungarian events he had worked at one of the factories of Budapest's light industry. But honest labour did not suit him. He wanted to get back the thousands of hold of land that had been given to the people, as well as forests, factories and power, and with this as his object he took an active part in Bornemisza's organization.

After Mindszenty's return to Budapest during the counter-revolutionary events, Karoly Khuen-Héderváry took advantage of his being an old friend of the cardinal to meet Mindszenty several times, during which he received instructions for the organization. Héderváry served also as the liaison man of the organization and the Duke of Lichtenstein, who came officially to Budapest during the October events in the capacity of the representative of the Inter-

national Red Cross, but actually as the representative of the Sovereign Military Order of Malta which had helped actively in promoting the counter-revolution in Hungary.

Karoly Khuen-Héderváry told us frankly that he was an opponent of the people's democracy and wished to restore the old order.

According to Count Khuen-Héderváry, during the students' demonstration on October 23, he, together with his friend Baron István Roznar, went out into the streets to greet the demonstrators.

"We both thought," he said, "that this was the beginning of such events that could bring about a change of the regime in Hungary."

According to Khuen-Héderváry, one of the participants of the underground group, a colonel Remhegyi said: "I am for the changing of the existing system as quickly as possible and in any feasible manner including an overthrow."

And here's what he had to say about Bornemisza's plan for the restoration of capitalism:

"When Bornemisza told us about his plan we approved it, for we believed that the people's democratic order would be overthrown. Bornemisza, I and a number of other members of our group considered that the Imre Nagy Government was only a temporary one and that very soon a new government would replace it, and we were ready to take part in it."

Khuen-Héderváry said that the international situation was the chief topic at these gatherings.

"Our main interest was whether there would be a war or not, because only a new world war could bring about a change in the existing regime in Hungary.

"After Austria's declaration of neutrality in 1955," Héderváry continued, "we decided to include in our programme the demand that Hungary should maintain neutrality and renounce her obligations under the Warsaw Treaty."

This testimony of one of the ringleaders of a counter-revolutionary group goes to show that the fake slogan of

"neutrality" put forward by Imre Nagy seemingly at the last moment and under pressure of extraordinary circumstances, in reality had been prepared and formulated by the reactionary underground as far back as one year before the events of last autumn.

The Hungarian counter-revolutionaries regarded the "neutrality" as a way to join the aggressive Western blocs. They saw their last hope of returning to power in a new world war. And the treacherous policy of the Imre Nagy Government led directly towards the unleashing of an international conflict.

We asked Héderváry what was the character of his talks with Mindszenty. He replied that he wished to get Mindszenty's consent for organizing a Catholic People's Party and to make public Bornemisza's plan. The cardinal told Héderváry at the time that it shouldn't be done as yet and added: "When the time comes, I'll tell you what to do."

"After the cardinal's November speech," Héderváry said, "we decided that the time had come."

Later we were shown at the Information Bureau of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic an original copy of the paper prepared for the press by Geza Bornemisza, Khuen-Héderváry and their entire company. It was dated November 4, 1956, but did not come off the press. The Soviet troops helped the Hungarian people to suppress the counter-revolution. And this single and only copy of the newspaper remains as a testimony of the danger that threatened the Hungarian people in the event of the victory of the counter-revolution.

III. HUNGARIANS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

1. VOICE OF HUNGARIAN WORKERS

The working class continues to be the leading force of the people's democracy in Hungary, and we, therefore, tried first of all to talk to the workers, to learn their views on last autumn's events and the present situation in their country.

We first visited *Csepel*, the heart of Hungarian industry, now employing about 30,000 workers and office employees. The Csepel Works combine 18 metallurgical and machine-building plants. The output of the Csepel Works constitutes (as it did in 1956) slightly less than one-fifth of the gross output of all metallurgical and machine-building enterprises.

The chairman of the amalgamated trade-union committee of the Csepel Works, *Tolnai*, related the following about the October events:

"On October 23, at about 8 o'clock in the evening, three lorries filled with strangers rolled on to the territory of the plant; they claimed to be students and made straight for the central heat and power plant. It turned out that they had brought explosives with them and intended to blow up the power distributing system. A quarter of the output of our heat and power plant is used by Csepel, the rest by Budapest and other plants.

"The workers of the power plant offered resistance to the saboteurs however. The alarm was raised. The guard

and the director of the Csepel Works, László Komiaty, arrived. He at once demanded that all those unbidden guests leave the works premises. The newcomers then attacked the director, began to beat him and wanted to throw him from the third floor of the building of the power plant. This was prevented by the workers. With the aid of the guards the workers, reinforced by comrades from other shops, drove the diversionists from the works.

"This shows how far from the truth was the statement about the alleged 'spontaneous character' of the events which began on October 23," continued Tolnai. "It is evident that the attempt to blow up the heat and power plant of Csepel as well as the simultaneous storming of the radio building and seizure of the central telephone exchange and other important points had all been thought out and planned by the counter-revolutionary conspirators well ahead of time. The really peacefully-minded students and youths who came out to demonstrate were merely used as a screen.

"Those who foresaw the danger of counter-revolution, themselves organized a workers' guard of about 250 men by October 25. There were not enough weapons and every man armed himself as he could. The attempt to get them from the Nagy Government led to nothing. . . .

"The great majority of the workers immediately came out in support of the Kádár Government. At a trade-union conference in December, for example, 94 per cent of the workers voted for the policy of the government.

"New problems arose when we began to set production going again," continued Tolnai. "The trade-union committee adopted a resolution to make every Csepel plant profitable. This resolution was discussed at meetings and most of the workers supported our proposal. According to our calculations the real wages of the workers in Csepel have increased on the average by 13.7 per cent as compared with last year.

"Csepel," concluded Tolnai, "always served as an example to the entire Hungarian working class. It was here that many important undertakings were launched in the building

of socialism. And now, when normal conditions have returned and Hungary is advancing along the path of socialism, the Csepel workers will continue in the vanguard of the builders of the new life."

We spoke to many rank-and-file workers in different plants of Csepel, but shall cite only a few of the most characteristic statements they made.

Ferenc Kovacsik, an old worker, has been employed in Csepel since 1917. A tool-maker by trade, he did not want to retire on pension and is now working in the store-room.

"The workers of our plant," he said, "agree with the appraisal of the October events given by the Kádár Government. In the first days many of us, of course, found it difficult to understand things. We old workers who had not forgotten fascism and Horthy sensed where the whole thing was leading. The reactionary elements would not let the honest workers do their jobs, threatening them with reprisals.

"The course of events," continued Kovacsik, "the butchery by the fascists of innocent people convinced the workers that this was counter-revolution. There were many among us who were displeased with the past mistakes. But even the worst mistakes under socialism are not the same as living under fascism.

"We did not sit about idle while the counter-revolutionaries were in charge. We knew that this was not the time to keep quiet. We gathered a group of our stauncher comrades at the plant, argued with them, explained things to the workers and tried to convince them. Those who remembered 1919, when the imperialists of the Entente together with the Horthy gang drowned our workers' and peasants' republic in blood, warned the young folk that they could expect no mercy if the fascists gained power.

"Everybody can now see how quickly life is returning to normal and how we are being helped by the fraternal socialist countries. The workers have confidence in the Government of Kádár. They can see that the standard of



These pictures, taken by a *Life* correspondent, show unarmed defenders of people's democracy in Hungary being dealt with summarily by counter-revolution. Two of the men—Farkas and Somogyi—who escaped death by chance, appear in the third picture (see over), after receiving awards for fighting against counter-revolution



living has risen, that there is no divergence between the words and actions of the present government."

Another labour veteran *László Láczi*, a worker of the motor-cycle plant, has been employed in Csepel since 1915. He was only 13 years old when he first came to work in production.

"Some lorries filled with students came to us in Csepel on the evening of October 24. The students were all armed with submachine-guns. They wanted the workers to go to the city with them. Some of the young people did go with them, but we, the older folk, went home.

"Some of the workers," remarked Láczi, "listened to the broadcasts of the 'Free Europe' station at the time, and I must say that there were many who believed all they heard. Besides, there were many among us who had lost their heads. The reactionaries openly resorted to threats against the workers. In those days, for instance, I met a man who had been employed in the administration of the plant; his name was Ermo.

"'Are you still at the plant?' he asked. 'You ought to be gutted like a goose for that? Just wait, we'll get at you yet!' This bandit has now been arrested; he turned out to be an active fascist connected with the emigrants in the West."

József Bedi, a pipe-rolling mill operator who had been employed in Csepel for seven years, told us:

"I never belonged to any party. But I can watch life for myself and have my own opinions. The youth and the students had not wanted what actually happened. Not only they, but most of the people only wanted the mistake of the past to be corrected.

"When the Horthy supporters turned up everywhere and released the criminals from the prisons, things took quite another turn. I, somehow, did not see any honest people taking part in those swinish scenes on the streets. All those excesses and lynchings were the work of the fascists. And already on the 30th of October I saw that it was counter-revolution.

"I was also put up for election to the workers' council at the plant," continued Bedi. There were some who evidently thought that since I had always been known to say my own opinion I would surely support their fascist actions. I refused flatly of course, saying that everything was too confused and that I could not be an executive. But they did not accept my refusal and elected me just the same.

"Nothing came of it, anyway, I tried to decide everything in a just way. They proposed that Communists should not be let in at the plant while those elected to the council be expelled. I at once said: I don't agree. If we want to correct mistakes we must do it together with Communists. So I always found myself in the minority in the council which was bossed by such with whom I could not travel. I told them straightforwardly that I intended to resign from the council, but they arranged a vote on the matter and would not allow me to leave.

"When the representatives of the workers' councils negotiated with the government, I had the opportunity to talk to Comrade Kádár and to Marosan. They are our kind, working people, and we believe them. We had big arguments in the council and finally decided to dissolve.

"Our workers see that things are running normally. I've been reading in the newspapers about the noise they are raising in the West over the arrests in Hungary. I think those who murdered people, went in for plunder, and wanted to overthrow socialism deserve what they get: they knew what they were doing."

We visited another large industrial enterprise of Budapest—the Ganz Rolling-Stock and Machine-Building Plant which builds diesel locomotives, modern diesel trains, and railway cars. It also manufactures other diesel engines, pumps, steam turbines, and various machinery of this sort and employs 6,300.

"We have the necessary working conditions, in the main, today," said engineer *László Molnár* who was showing us about the plant. "There is both electricity and coal. We

and the other plants of Budapest have been helped a lot by the deliveries of metal and other materials from the U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia. At the Mavag, a large machine-building plant, they would have had to discharge 4,000 workers if not for a Soviet order for goods.

"The output per worker," he continued, "has reached the 1956 level. Our plant yielded a profit of 6,000,000 forints this month. As for our gross output, we are still hampered mainly by a shortage of metal, of raw materials. We expect to recover the pre-October output in the fourth quarter of the year.

"As for wages, the unskilled worker receives from 5 to 7 forints an hour, while the skilled worker gets from 7.5 to 13 forints an hour. According to the calculations of our trade union, the real wages are 15 per cent higher now than last summer. This is no mere statistical abstraction: just ask any worker and he'll tell you the same."

* * *

Here is what the workers of the Ganz had to say about the October events in Hungary:

"I am not a member of the Party," said the assembly man *Zóltán Bieber*. "I was on the streets of the city from the 23rd of October and saw everything with my own eyes. I did not take part in the fight. And who was running the putsch anyway? Scoundrels like Dudas or just Horthy officers and gendarmes. I saw the lynching and all that barbarity. It made me very angry and still does. I loath the fascist murderers."

The old worker *Lajos Fekete*, grinder of a tool-making plant, had the following to say:

"It may be that many had the best intentions, among them the youth, but see what came of their intentions!

"One must put it plainly and say that it was a counter-revolution from the outset," he continued. "And it began not on October 23, but as far back as 1945: the Horthy men

were driven away, but some of them remained. That's what was at the bottom of it all.

"And the main thing was that we forgot all too soon that building socialism is not just a smooth ride on a fast diesel train. We forgot that the American capitalists were not investing 100 million dollars a year in subversive activities for nothing, that they were always dreaming of forcing the old order on our necks again."

"Most of us have by now understood what could have happened here," said the repair man *József Rez*. "No one, but those who lost their estates and factories after 1945, wants to return to the old order. Most of the workers did not support these 'freedom fighters.'

"We knew with whom we were dealing," continued Rez. "We organized a workers' guard directly after October 23 and did not let the bandits destroy anything at the Ganz. But we had practically no weapons, while the traitors Maleter and Kopacsi were handing them out freely to the fascists and criminals.

"If not for the help we got from the Soviet Union, they would have arranged a real bloodbath here not only for the working class, but also for the 'peacefully minded' students and all progressive people."

"That's right!" agreed old Fekete. "We are grateful to the Soviet people. It would have been better, of course, if we ourselves had found the strength to oust the counter-revolutionaries. But as things went, we had no united leadership, and who was to help us if not the U.S.S.R.? The Soviet people have always stood for socialism and defended the cause of socialism here in Hungary as well."

Lajos Kreszan, turner at the Ganz Plant, has been working in production for thirty years. This is one of the many rank-and-file veteran workers who during the events last autumn proved to be staunch supporters of socialism and actively defended the people's democratic system.

It is precisely these people, as we could notice, that constituted the basic core around which the new Hungarian

Socialist Workers' Party's nuclei were formed. Last November Kreszan was elected Secretary of the Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party of the Ganz Plant.

"Before the October events very many spoke," said Kreszan, "and some still continue to speak today only of the mistakes committed in the past. But they forget the big successes our people achieved during the twelve years that passed since the liberation from fascism. Take, for instance, our factory: in 1945 it lay in ruins after the raids of American, and later of Hitlerite, aircraft. . . . By our own efforts we workers raised it from the ruins and our Ganz became one of the advanced, up-to-date enterprises whose produce is now known in many countries of the world. Is this not an achievement of people's power?

"And is it possible to forget, for example, the tremendous significance of the cultural revolution that took place in these years for the workers, for the whole of our people? In the Horthy days not every intellectual by far could afford to go to the theatre, not to mention the workers. And in people's Hungary art and culture really belong to the people, they are accessible to every working man. During the years of fascism Hungarian classics were issued in insignificant editions. I am very fond of books. I remember when Zsigmont Moricz was issued in an edition of 600 copies, only for the elect. Workers in people's Hungary who are fond of reading can either have their own libraries or freely use the public libraries.

"The situation is a similar one as far as education is concerned: whereas in the old days only three per cent of the student body of the universities came from the families of working people, today almost 70 per cent of the students of our higher schools are children of workers and peasants.

"My opinion is that the previous mistakes by themselves could not have been and were not the reason for the October events. They were only skilfully used by the coun-

ter-revolutionaries and by those who supported them from abroad for inciting an armed uprising.

"Imre Nagy and his group," Kreszan continued, "played a treacherous role in this affair. During that period Nagy undoubtedly had great influence, very many believed that he was a Communist, allegedly striving to rectify the mistakes of the past in the interests of socialism. This however was deceit.

"Actually, Nagy's role should be assessed not by his words but by his deeds. After October 23 he became Chairman of the Council of Ministers, but did nothing to defend the power of the workers and peasants. He did not organize an armed rebuff of the counter-revolutionary forces which let loose fascist terror. Instead, Nagy started negotiations with Dudas and his bandits and other counter-revolutionary groupings. . . . I consider that he did all this consciously as he had already long ago broken with socialism, if he had ever been a real Socialist.

"Nagy was able to deceive many people last autumn only because the former leadership of the Hungarian Working People's Party failed to expose completely in good time Nagy and his group, failed to show up these demagogues.

"Could the mistakes of the past have been rectified in a peaceful manner? They certainly could. The decisions adopted on this score already in July 1956 by the Hungarian Working People's Party correctly provided the possibility of rectifying peacefully these mistakes. The crux of the matter, however, is that this did not suit the counter-revolutionaries and imperialists, did not suit all the enemies of socialism. And they provoked an armed mutiny in October not to 'cleanse' socialism in Hungary, as they at that time clamoured, but to overthrow and destroy it.

"Many also forget that these correct decisions on rectifying mistakes were adopted not only without the participation of Nagy and his group, but despite them.

"How could it happen," says Kreszan, "that Kádár's Government and our Party were able to rally the workers

so quickly and normalize the life of the country? Because the roots of socialism are firmly implanted in the working class of Hungary and in the whole Hungarian people.

"Take such an example: this spring Radio 'Free Europe' raised a hue and cry that on March 15, the anniversary of the 1848 Revolution, armed fighting would begin again. Rumours began to spread here—after all, there are plenty of counter-revolutionaries in hiding, not all have escaped to the West. . . . But when March 15 came there were no demonstrations against the Kádár Government as had been promised by 'Free Europe,' and there was no shooting.

"And on April 4, the anniversary of the liberation of Hungary from fascism by the Soviet Army, the streets were crowded with people, and there was a real holiday. To tell the truth, on the eve of the holiday many of us were not sure whether the people would come out or not. It turned out better than anyone had expected. . . . Before May 1st it was announced at all factories that anybody who wanted to, could attend the demonstration. We reckoned that approximately 250 to 300 thousand would come out. Well, actually 500,000 people poured into the streets—it was the best May Day demonstration ever witnessed in Budapest.

"And would you like to know under what slogans these people marched in the streets of Budapest? 'We support the Kádár Government! Long live the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party! For friendship with the Soviet Union!'

"The workers of Hungary and the whole Hungarian people know that it was the Soviet Army that freed our country from fascism. Last autumn the Soviet people again came to our aid. It is not without reason that the suppression of the counter-revolution effected by the Kádár Government with the help of the Soviet Army is often called here the second liberation from fascism.

"'Free Europe' and the whole reactionary propaganda engaged in rumour-making are striving to cast aspersions on the relations between the Hungarian population and the units of the Soviet Army dislocated in Hungary in accord-

ance with the Warsaw Treaty. But no matter how hard they try, nothing will come out of this. Take the following example: this spring an amateur art ensemble of the Soviet Army performed in our district. The largest hall was taken for this in the Mavag Plant's club which seats 1,200 people. Well, the hall turned out to be too small, and many people who wanted to, couldn't see the show. . . . And you should have seen how the audience greeted the Soviet soldiers.

"Facts speaking of the friendly relations between the Soviet soldiers and the working people of Hungary may be witnessed daily. We have all the grounds for maintaining that the friendship between the Hungarian and Soviet peoples is firm.

"Yes," repeated Kreszan, "as firm as the roots of socialism in Hungary."

2. WHAT THE HUNGARIAN PEASANTS THINK

We arrived in the town of Szarvas in Southern Hungary, which is one of the country's oldest farming regions. Szarvas is the centre of a district encompassing several score villages. The townfolk and villagers are mainly engaged in farming.

In Szarvas we interviewed *István Potocky*, a school-teacher, *Béla Rozse*, secretary of the regional council, *Ferenc Vince*, director of the agricultural secondary school, *Mihály Korbely*, a pensioner, *Huszarik*, company commander in the workers' militia and a number of other town dwellers. And here is what they told us about the October events in this district.

In a small town even insignificant events become known to every inhabitant. Thus it became common knowledge that an unknown person arrived in a motor car from Budapest on October 27 and went to Gyorgy Sarvaszi, a former Horthy captain who had been tried in the past for war crimes. On the following day, on October 28, when all the

town authorities were in Budapest, Gyorgy Sarvaszi and a group of former kulaks were seen going back and forth in the streets, and in the evening they formed a "revolutionary committee" consisting of eleven people. Among them besides Sarvaszi were: Istvan Laslofi, a former kulak and Horthy officer, Mihály Frecko, the former owner of the district's biggest flour mill, Gyorgy Højdu and Gyorgy Janulik, former kulaks, clergyman Samuel Szeikacs, the former lawyer at the old court of justice Csecsel, and others of the same calibre.

On the following day notices were pasted in the streets, informing the people that Gyorgy Sarvaszi was appointed head of the district "revolutionary committee" and chief of the armed guard he had created. He appointed Istvan Laslofi, a former Horthy officer, head of the town's "revolutionary committee," and a few hours later announced that a regional armed guard, fifty-strong, had been formed. The latter was made up chiefly of former kulaks and their relatives, Horthy officers and criminals who had been released from prisons.

After that several orders daily issued by Gyorgy Sarvaszi were regularly announced in the town. One of his first orders was to dismiss all members of the Hungarian Working People's Party; this was followed by a "black list" of all active members of the local authorities whom the "revolutionary committee" intended to prosecute. Then came the order to restore to the former big landowners and kulaks all their former property, while the peasants' agricultural cooperatives which had been founded on those estates were declared dissolved.

Meanwhile the former landlords and kulaks made a round of the villages, ordering the peasants off the land, as they intended to work their former estates that very autumn.

On November 2, Gyorgy Sarvaszi and his closest followers were called by a wire to Győr (on the Austro-Hungarian frontier) for further instructions. When Gyorgy Sarvaszi and his assistants returned to Szarvas on November 5, the

legal authorities had already been reinstated, and Sarvaszi with his group were arrested and imprisoned. On the same day the counter-revolutionary elements throughout the district were disarmed.

Later on, the people's court tried Sarvaszi for his counter-revolutionary activities directed against the people and sentenced him to a prison term of four and a half years.

The population of that district numbers about 42 thousand. After the October events 63 of the more active counter-revolutionaries were arrested, but most of them were released as they repented, and also because their actions had not caused any serious damage.

Neither Soviet troops nor Hungarian armed forces had come to Szarvas. The local people defeated the counter-revolutionaries without any outside aid. They not only did away with the counter-revolution in their own district, but on the request of a delegation of workers from the city of Békés they drove there in several lorries and helped the city's population to restore law and order.

"Life in this district," Béla Rozse told us, "has long since returned to normal. At present agricultural cooperatives unite about forty per cent of the district's peasant households, and about the same proportion of arable land. During the October events, under the impact of counter-revolutionary propaganda and the threats of the kulaks, several small cooperatives decided to dissolve their undertaking. But already at the beginning of this year almost all the peasants who had formed the membership of those cooperatives united anew. At present there is even a larger number of peasant households in the cooperatives than last year, although the number of cooperatives has reduced in the last twelve months from 32 to 23.

"This is not an outcome of the counter-revolution," Béla Rozse explained. "What happened is that the peasants in several small cooperatives decided to form bigger associations to work their land more efficiently. Throughout the district the cooperatives obtain higher yields than individually-run

husbandries, and the incomes of cooperative members are much higher than those of individual peasants. To find out what our cooperatives are like and how the membership lives, the best thing is to see them for yourselves."

And Béla Rozse invited us to ride over to the Tancic producers' cooperative, situated near the town. We accepted, of course. On our way we dropped in to interview *István Hajdu*, a former kulak.

To our questions about himself and his farm, Hajdu replied that formerly he owned 33 hold of land, but he turned that over voluntarily to the state, and at present he is renting from the state 2.5 hold at an annual cost of 70 forints per hold. He showed us round his husbandry. We remarked that it was run efficiently and asked Hajdu why he was not joining a cooperative. This is what he said:

"I get lower returns per hold than the cooperative does, but I make enough to keep the family. I could rent more land, but I am getting on in years, and work is fatiguing now. They are promising to establish old-age pensions in the cooperatives next year. I suppose I'll join then."

"What do you think of the October events?" we asked.

"I felt before as I do now that the political system which has been set up in Hungary after 1945 is in accord with the interests of the Hungarian people. I was opposed to those rebels who wanted to restore a Horthy regime."

We reached the Tancic cooperative when the peasants were already through with their meal, and were taking a rest before returning to the fields.

We learned that the cooperative had been founded on the initiative of the poor peasants in the autumn of 1948. At first its membership numbered 38 households, now it has gone up to about 200. They are cultivating over 1,500 hold of land growing wheat, rice, maize, barley, and flax. They have well-developed livestock, poultry farms, apiaries, and orchards. In addition to this the cooperative has a pond which yields about ten tons of carp a year. They have their club and a library.

"And what about your earnings?"

Several people answered our question at the same time. Their eagerness was understandable—they are the owners of the farm, after all, and thrifty owners indeed. Each member of the cooperative knows what the income and outlays are, they know what every forint of their communal undertaking is spent for.

The commonly-owned property of the cooperative is at present valued at 3 million forints. In 1952 the cash value of one workday unit was 27 forints; last year it was doubled, reaching 54 forints. The cooperative's total income last year amounted to 2.2 million forints. This year they are anticipating not less.

"During the summer season we decided to organize collective meals," told us an old peasant, *Pál Molnár*. "In the summer, time is money, one day's work means one week's food. So as not to waste any of that time we opened a canteen where we have our dinner all together. Breakfast and supper we have at home. We have good cooks, and a substantial dinner costs less than one and a half forints."

When we asked whether the counter-revolution had caused any damages to the cooperative there was general laughter, and one of the members, *János Oroszki*, told us that all they saw of the counter-revolution was six kulaks who came to the cooperative and declared that the regional "revolutionary committee" had returned them their confiscated property. The peasants, therefore, were ordered to clear out. One of the kulaks added that anybody willing to work as farm labourer could stay.

The peasants merely suggested to the kulaks to get out of the place and that if they thought of returning with similar demands the cooperative members would not guarantee their personal safety.

"Well," *János Oroszki* concluded, "they never came again anywhere near our place. Meanwhile our cooperative is getting along and doing well. We have the Soviet Army to thank for that, for rescuing us a second time from fascism."

"We are doing very well indeed," said another cooperative member, *János Molnár*. "We owe it all to people's government. As to the so-called 'revolution'—that was an undertaking of the kulaks and Horthyites. As soon as the peasants found out what those people planned to do about the land, they understood whom that 'revolution' was going to benefit. The kulaks who came here were talking about some kind of freedom which they did not have and for which they were fighting; but a kulak's freedom means the peasant's bondage. We don't want that kind of freedom, and so we kicked them out."

"In the beginning of November last year, 29 households decided to leave the cooperative," said *János Hobel*, a cooperative member. "We did not hold them back. Soon three households joined up again and the other 26 put in an application to resume their membership in the spring and summer. During this period we accepted into our cooperative 38 households which formerly ran their farms on their own. As for the 26 who had left we decided to keep them waiting a while. But they are very insistent, so we are planning to look into this matter at our next meeting."

3 INTELLECTUALS: "WE DIDN'T WANT IT"

When we visited the big Budapest Ganz Plant we interviewed a number of engineers and technicians. This is what they had to say.

Said *László Molnár*, engineer in the hydraulic machines shop:

"It would be a mistake to think that counter-revolution was due to chance circumstances, or that it broke out spontaneously. Many people saw that conspiracy was well organized beforehand.

"Why did the army and militia remain passive? First of all, because traitors had made their way into their ranks: Maleter, Kopaci (chief of the Budapest militia). Then there

was no unity in the Party leadership. Traitor Imre Nagy used the situation in his own anti-popular ends.

"In this situation reactionary elements made use of the mistakes that had been committed in the past to undermine the authority of the Party and to attack the people's democracy. They intentionally magnified those mistakes out of all proportion, and thus succeeded in creating confusion and sowing disillusion among many intellectuals and youths, even among some of the workers.

"At the same time there was a conspiracy of silence with regard to the successes achieved in the past 12 years. As an engineer I can see that over this short period of time people's Hungary has achieved a degree of industrial progress which could not have been attained in other countries even in 50 years.

"The Kádár Government set about its work in a very difficult situation, and the results that have been achieved are the best proof that the government has chosen the right political course. It must be added that the aid extended by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries played an important part in bringing life in Hungary back to normal."

In the management's offices we met *Erne Trenk*, head of the hydraulic machines department, just back from a business trip to Turkey where he had gone on account of an order the works received. Trenk was born in the family of an official, he received an education and became an engineer under the Horthy regime. He has been working for fifteen years at the Ganz Plant and is a docent of the University. Here are his views:

"Neither before 1944 nor after did I belong to any party. When the Soviet Army liberated Hungary from fascism I was just a plain engineer. Now I head a department. I never wanted to own an estate, in the past or in the present.

"But I am not viewing the events through the same glasses as many other people. They may not be as limpid as the ones used by workers, but they probably give you a wider outlook. I have visited the Soviet Union, People's De-

mocracies, and capitalist states. Last week I got back from a trip to Turkey. I believe that I can have a sober judgement on certain problems.

"One of the troubles here was that many people were too credulous about things coming from the West, seeing them through rose-coloured spectacles. Here is an example. I returned from Turkey via Vienna and there I talked with many refugees. They are anxious to come back to Hungary and admit that they feel rather ashamed. A refugee who had already been in Canada told me: 'The best anti-West propaganda is what we had to go through here.' I believe that many people who were formerly grumbling at home and were not pleased with people's rule, will now, after they have been in the West, become advocates of socialism.

"There is another important factor which goes to explain many things. One of our old writers said once: 'One can do anything with the Hungarian people, even harness them into a plough, if this plough is painted in Hungary's national colours' (Mikszad). Some of our former leaders refused to take this into account, and reactionaries used it in their ends.

"The present government is comparable to a surgeon who must operate a patient. But all of us are aware that a surgeon has to use a knife, sometimes even without putting gloves on. An operation is a painful business, but it is necessary. When the tumor is removed, the sound tissues recover. After that we shall have to draw our conclusions from the mistakes that have been committed, and, in the future, adopt prophylaxis as the best treatment. I believe that this is what every honest and reasonable individual wants. As for those who cannot understand it, let them wait a little, until the operation is over, and then they may come out with their criticisms."

In the works' laboratory we interviewed *István Dejkan*, an engineer who in the past was an ordinary worker in this place.

"Six years ago I was operating a lathe." Dejkan began his story. "Then I graduated a technical college and now I

am a post-graduate student. Is it not one of the results of the people's government? This form of government helped me to get an education as it did many others.

"Intellectuals played a prominent part in those events. That was not incidental, because some of them maintained 'too close ties' with the West. I have in mind certain writers, journalists, and other cultural workers. The over-all activity of these reactionary elements was directed at overthrowing people's rule.

"But the overwhelming majority of technical intellectuals took no part in the events. This was evidently due to the fact that we, who are part of the production mechanism, have a better understanding of what the people have achieved under the Party's leadership in the past 12 years.

"I am convinced that the intellectuals working in production are for the most part honest people who want to build a socialist society in Hungary hand in hand with the workers and all the working people."

At the Budapest Polytechnical University we met Dr. *Eged*, head of the geophysics department, who told us the following:

"I am not a politician and wish merely to express my personal views on some questions. Let us be frank: there was a great deal of confusion here during the October events. In them took part different groups of people who had their own notions and their own interests.

"Some plain people considered that their national interests had been infringed; there was also discontent with the living standards. As for the students, the bulk of them were sincere in their desire to rectify the former mistakes.

"But there were other kinds of people too—those who lost large properties, power and position, when Hungary was freed from fascism. They took part in the events with another aim in view—to restore the old regime.

"And, finally, there was the group of people who believe that anything coming from the West is good. They literally



A patrol of Hungarian patriots disclosed arms which the rebels were transporting in a car flying a Red Cross flag during the counter-revolutionary action in Budapest





Cinema Korvin after rehabilitation

worship anything originating in the West, the West embodied in bananas, motor-cars, chocolates, or nylon. These people are blind.

"Another aspect of the tragedy is that many people who were prompted by the best of intentions, came to the forefront in the course of the developments, especially at the outset. Those, on the other hand, who were pursuing altogether different and by no means peaceful ends, remained in the background, acting behind the others' backs.

"In our University there has not been any rioting and nobody had to suffer politically or physically. Once leaflets appeared, demanding the removal of four professors (only one was a member of the Hungarian Working People's Party). But this episode was not followed by any action, and the four professors remained at their posts.

"Unfortunately during that period the University was visited by unknown persons whose intentions were by no means peaceable, and they caused a lot of damage. For example, they stole half of the valuable library containing scientific and technical works published in the West and East.

"Following the October 23 events the students and the younger teachers took steps to guard the University. But during the street fighting they had no way of preventing groups of rebels from using the University premises for firing from windows and attics.

"It is true that at the time there were many excesses, barbarous deeds, terroristic actions, and murders.

"During those days I was listening to the broadcasts of 'Free Europe' from Munich and the radio stations in other Western countries. It is quite true that these broadcasts caused a lot of harm; because of them many disgraceful acts were committed here.

"The University resumed its work in the middle of November 1956. The teachers, the departments' staff members and many students did their best to get things back to normal. Research work was soon resumed in all departments.

"One of our oldest scholars, Prof. Vadas, who is 70 years of age, took charge with much vigour of the work of clearing the University territory and premises of debris and putting things in order in the laboratories. When it was found out that many valuable books on special subjects had disappeared, Prof. Vadas wrote to many men of science in different countries, and now a large number of books have been sent to us.

"I am firmly convinced that the miners, workers, and students had no intention of renouncing socialism either before or after October 23, nor after November 4. I am convinced that Western capitalism is unsuitable for Hungary in any form. Once people have set foot on the road leading to socialism, they will not turn off.

"There may be some deviations or mistakes along that road. There is no denying that while socialism was under construction in Hungary mistakes were made. However it would be wrong to say that those mistakes were inherent in the socialist system.

"In the course of 12 years much that is of value has been accomplished, although the 'overhead charges' have been high at times. Socialism cannot be rooted out in Hungary, it is alive in the people, though many of them do not even realize it. I am not saying this to please anybody, but because it is an actual fact."

* * *

We visited *Pal Szabo*, one of Hungary's oldest and most popular authors, at his home.

"What happened in Hungary," said Pal Szabo, "does not concern Hungarians only, it concerns socialism as a whole. I am not approaching this problem as a man of politics but as a writer.

"As a Hungarian writer I assert that in 1945, 90 per cent of the Hungarian people were friends of the Soviet Union. Popular Hungarian writers were reared on Russian classical works. I, for example, have been delighted by Maxim

Gorky's writings ever since the age of sixteen. In spite of years of fascist rule, our people, Hungary's working people, were not pro-fascist. They were eagerly awaiting the Soviet Army.

"As a writer who has devoted most of his life and energies to the Hungarian rural life I am in favour of socialism in agriculture. In my book *Three Weeks in the Soviet Union*—I wrote it with a pure heart and a pure conscience—I described at length the achievements of socialist agriculture in the U.S.S.R.

"What was wrong here, in Hungary, is that some people tried to apply, in a mechanical way, the Soviet experience to the Hungarian countryside; to copy what was being done in the Soviet Union, without taking into account the specific features and historical structure of our agriculture.

"That in itself could not, of course, lead to the events which took place on October 23.

"Before October 23 there had developed a great popular movement for rectifying peaceably the errors committed in the course of socialist construction. Unfortunately a part of the people who came out for rectifying these errors and had the best intentions and no desire whatever to overthrow the socialist system, were caught in the counter-revolutionary whirlpool. These ordinary people became the tools of reactionary elements.

"From the very outset the counter-revolutionaries were very active in the streets; the part played in this by some church leaders, who were supported by 'Free Europe' and the Western radio and press in general, was particularly conspicuous. In those days one got the impression that the whole Western world and all its radio stations spoke Hungarian only."

Pal Szabo went on to say that being a non-party man he cannot discuss the actions of the former Party leadership, which bears a great deal of responsibility for what happened.

"That could only play into the hands of the foes of people's democracy. They made skilful use of popular discon-

tent for their own ends. That was when the 'black hand of the West' could be best seen at work.

"I am deeply convinced, and have said so to my friends time and again, that we must promote a firm, genuine, and not superficial friendship, with the Soviet Union.

"I am also convinced that Hungarians could play in the building of socialism in their land as prominent a part as the Russians are playing in theirs. Of course, the past events have caused a lot of damage. But we must hope now that everything will be righted.

"I agree that from the viewpoint of international politics and of the struggle that is being waged in the world by the new and the old, the October 1956 events in Hungary were counter-revolution. But many people still fail to understand it.

"It is not true that the Hungarian people wish to build some kind of a 'national communism,'" Pal Szabo concluded. "The working people of Hungary realize that their path is the one leading to socialism. And the socialist path is the one leading to the future of mankind."

4. YOUTH: "WE WERE DECEIVED"

At the Csepel Works we talked to the young workers. Below is a report of some of our conversations.

Geza Deat works in the transport department of the Csepel Non-Ferrous Metal Works. Besides being a worker, he is a student of a night institute. Before the events, he was a member of the Democratic Youth League (D.I.S.).

"I remember the morning of October 23 when a group of students came round to the Csepel Works. They went to the D.I.S. Committee and asked the young workers to support their demonstration. We refused, since we were not sure what form their movement would take. . . . In my opinion," Deat pointed out, "those students were not counter-revolutionaries. They made some right demands, for instance, to develop our friendship with the Soviet Union on

the basis of equality. The Soviet Government spoke about this itself in its Declaration of October 30.

"At the same time, however, some of the points advanced by the students were nationalistic and chauvinistic. I believe the tragedy lay in the fact that the students did not realize where they were going.

"Now the majority of the youth realize that they were mistaken, that they had been bamboozled in October by the revisionists and counter-revolutionaries. Many of them say: 'We were deceived.'

"Everybody can see," he continued, "that the Kádár Government is trying to rectify the consequences of the errors committed with regard to the youth. In March this year a Hungarian Communist Youth League (K.I.S.) was founded. The League members are trying to work in another, more spirited way, without losing contact with life and the interests of the youth.

"This summer we started a movement," said Deat in conclusion, "of 'teams working for export' at the works. Our country needs to increase its export of industrial produce so as to have the currency with which to procure necessary raw materials and equipment. These youth teams fulfil the plan 120 to 140 per cent. Now this movement has spread throughout Hungary. Not only are teams competing, but factories as well. And they are competing not only to fulfil their plans and improve the quality of the produce, but to work with greater discipline and economy. The teams showing the best results, receive money prizes from the Central Committee of the K.I.S."

* * *

Lajos Petrak, a student of Budapest, told us the following:

"The crux of the matter is that an internal struggle was going on within the Party and state leadership. Nagy and his group, now it is clear to me, acted like obvious traitors.

"On the eve of the events," Petrak went on, "the youth

were influenced chiefly by the demagogy of this group, who sharply criticized the former leadership and condemned the old errors, all of which appealed to the youth.

"The 'Petöfi circle' also had a great influence on the youth. It turned out to be a convenient platform for Imre Nagy's adherents and all kinds of reactionaries, who were attacking the people's democracy. In some large cities, such as Györ, Miskolcz, Sopron, and others, groupings of the same kind—the Kossuth, Vasvari, Tancsics—cropped up. Local reactionary elements, as well as representatives from Budapest were active in these groups.

"As for the Democratic Youth League, it could not lead the youth at all. This League had no authority at all to speak of in the universities long before the events of October 23 broke out.

"Just before the events, the question rose in a number of places of restoring the Students' Union. On October 21, students in Szeged and a few other cities announced that they were leaving the Democratic Youth League and organizing a Students' Union. Then the Budapest University declared their Students' Union reopened. This Union was an initiator of the October 23 demonstration at the monument to General Bem.

"The Students' Union was officially reopened on October 21-23 but several of its local organizations had been functioning illegally for a number of months. It must be remembered that the counter-revolutionary forces in Hungary and the émigrés had been preparing for this moment for at least about ten years. I'm quite sure now that there were counter-revolutionary groupings among the youth, especially in some universities. The number of their members, of course, was very small. The main mass of students are honest people who were caught in the current of the events.

"When the Horthy and other reactionary elements emerged into the open," said Lajos Petrak in conclusion, "and the fascist terror began, the masses of students and other young people refused to take part in the events."

Ferenc Petrak is one of the former active members of the Democratic Youth League (D.I.S.). At present he is working in the Medical Workers' Trade Union. We asked Petrak to tell us about the activities of the D.I.S. and the part the youth had taken in the October events.

"Before October 23," Petrak began, "there was a great deal of argument in the D.I.S. Its leadership had been working according to cut-and-dried methods during the past years, without taking into account either the requirements or the specific features of our young men and women and forgetting that they came of different walks of life. There were the young workers, the intellectuals, the young girls, and each had their own peculiarities and requirements.

"When the events began, the D.I.S. activists got together to discuss the situation. It was decided to ask for arms with which to defend the people's power. But we received 'instructions from above' to disperse and go home!

"I was studying at a higher school at the time," Ferenc Petrak said. "We had 400 persons there devoted to the people's democratic system. Everybody was waiting for the command from the Central Committee, and kept asking for arms. We ourselves organized companies and platoons, and chose our own commanders. But the answer to all our demands was, 'Wait.'

"At last, on October 28, a place was appointed where we were to receive arms. We marched up to the place, but found no arms there. . . . That was when we began to feel that the leadership with Nagy at its head had no intention of arming the working youth.

"Finally, as the events progressed, the D.I.S. disintegrated. During the reign of the White terror in Budapest, many of the former members of this organization had to go underground, and others hid in their homes. . . . There were, however, some, though few, who joined the counter-revolutionary movement.

"During the events of last autumn," said Ferenc Petrak, "the various parties which were restored at the time hastened to institute their youth organizations—Christian, Social-Democratic and fascist. Not only the parties, but the workers' councils tried to rally the youth around themselves.

"All sorts of different organizations cropped up—M.E.F.E.S. (Students' Union), E.P.O.S. (Christian Youth League), etc. Some of them had only a few dozen members. That openly reactionary youth organization, which existed during Horthy's time, the Union of the Young, also came to life again. On November 2 they held a meeting at which they demanded that Cardinal Mindszenty be appointed Premier. This organization lasted only four or five days....

"In those days the working youth loyal to the people's democracy and socialism," Ferenc Petrak went on, "demanded arms for the defence of the people's power. But Nagy's Government would not give us arms. And the counter-revolutionaries had them. We learned that they had had their secret stores of arms long before the events broke out. Besides, the army and militia turned out to be corrupt. Kopacsi, the head of the Budapest militia, a traitor, as became known later, gave the order to hand out arms from the militia's stores to the student members of the M.E.F.E.S., but when representatives of the D.I.S. asked him for arms, he refused to give them any.

"We then decided to form a new union of Hungarian youth. On October 30 my comrades and I began to draw up a programme of the Revolutionary Union of Working Youth (M.A.F.I.S.). What were the chief principles of our platform? First, to build socialism; second, to recognize the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"On November 1 and 2 the counter-revolution let loose their white terror in town. We started to organize armed youth groups, so as to defend our workers' power. But it was still hard to get any weapons. And then, on November 4,

the Soviet troops came at the invitation of the Kádár's Government and crushed the counter-revolution.

"We included a point in our programme indicating our support of the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government.

"On November 6, our organization amalgamated with the trade-union youth groups (on the basis of the same platform). A Provisional National Committee of the Revolutionary Union of Working Youth (M.A.F.I.S.) was organized. The Revolutionary Union of Working Youth called on all the young workers to join its ranks. We called also on those who had participated in the events but stood for socialism, for the people's power."

When the counter-revolution was routed and Budapest was coming back to normal life, the M.A.F.I.S., according to Petrak, was the organizer of such youth campaigns as the "Budapest Will Be Beautiful Again!" or "We Want to Live—Give us Coal!" The young men and women participating in these campaigns cleared the streets, repaired the ruined buildings, worked in the mines.

In conclusion, Ferenc Petrak said:

"At present there is a strong, healthy core supporting the policy of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Kádár Government. This is the Communist Youth League (K.I.S.). The majority of the working youth already understand that what took place in October was a counter-revolution."

5. HUNGARIAN REFUGEES WANT TO GO HOME

The World Union of Hungarians located at No. 4 Bem Square in Budapest is an organization assisting Hungarian citizens, who have left their country for one reason or another, to come home.

Tens of thousands of Hungarians left their country during the October events last year. A part of them were fascist officers and gendarmes, reactionaries and criminals who had

taken an active part in the attempt to overthrow the socialist system by force of arms. Fleeing from just retribution after the defeat of the counter-revolution, they escaped to the West.

A considerable part of the refugees, however, were people who had committed no crimes. They had merely yielded to panic, had been misinformed or frightened by the panicky reports spread for purposes of provocation by the counter-revolutionaries and the "Free Europe" broadcasting station. Not a few of the refugees, moreover, were youths and even school children of 14 to 16 who had set off for distant countries in search of adventure.

The World Union of Hungarians has been receiving hundreds of letters every day from refugees asking for help to come home to Hungary. By January this year, the Union had already helped about 20,000, who had fled in October and December last year, to return, and, as Lajos Biro, the Assistant General Secretary of the Union informed us, the number of requests from refugees to go home has been constantly growing.

Lajos Biro kindly offered us the possibility to look at those letters reaching the Union from various parts of the world. In addition, we read many similar letters received by Budapest Radio. Here are the contents of a few of them.

"I want to go home!" wrote *László Vida* from Chicago. "I want to go home to study, study and study. I don't believe that those who return are arrested, as they say here. No! A man who comes home is no criminal; he has merely found the correct path and made the correct choice between two systems. I'm going home to rebuild my house destroyed by the fascists."

The railwayman *Ferenc Potyondi* wrote the following from Chardonne (Switzerland):

"There were people who made good use of the events and took many photographs; they are now selling them at the street crossings in Switzerland and making a good deal of money. The publishers have learned of this and are using the

photographs for propaganda. A 'Hungarian Revolution Exhibition,' for instance, has been arranged in Lausanne. Attending this show, I was surprised to find that about 75 per cent of the material was nothing but lies, slander, and propaganda."

And here is a letter addressed to Budapest Radio by one *Antal Kecskes* from Vilvorde in Belgium:

"Dear Comrades! I know that you have been receiving many letters similar in content and sentiment to mine from different parts of the world, but I, like the others, am addressing you in the hope that this will bring me peace and show me the way to go home to people's Hungary.

"I left my country in November 1956 under the influence of the mass hysteria then prevailing and without rightly realizing what I was doing.

"I only ask that my comrades frankly write how things stand: is there any possibility to return and what awaits me if I do? I know that I am much to blame, having left my country, my people and the socialist system which made a man of me."

And here is a letter from *a group of youths* in Canada.

"We came here on January 9 and even then they spoke to us as if we were stray dogs. Many hungry people wanted to go home even from Austria, but the radio there, unfortunately, reported mass shipments of the youth to the Soviet Union and that those who returned to Hungary could expect the same fate. That is why we decided not to go home, though not all of us believed those reports.

"Many young people, as well as such Hungarians who left with their families, have asked to be returned because we do not want to spend our lives in unemployment and starvation. The answer we get to this is: 'Only the Communists have a bad time of it in Canada, only the Communists want to go home.'

"Regardless of what they say, we continued and still continue our demand to be returned. Three weeks ago they registered all who wanted to go back, but until now not a

word has been said about just when we're to be sent home. They have already registered thousands, and this seems very suspicious to us."

"Dear Hungarian Radio Budapest!" wrote twenty-year old *János Kuhor* from Kopflach (Austria). "I would like you to know that I crossed the border to Austria on the evening of November 28, having nothing with me except the clothes on my back. Now I'm very sorry I left people's Hungary, because life here is not like it would be under socialism or communism, but rather as under fascism, and I don't like it.

"I want to return to our splendid Hungarian homeland, want to live in the socialist and communist way, to do normal work and move ahead. I want to know if this will not be prevented by the fact that I was a soldier in my second year of service? Still, I want to return to Hungary. I hope you will answer soon, because I want to go home."

From Haarlem (Holland) Budapest Radio received the following letter signed by *Feri, Ezska, and Palk*:

"We were overjoyed when we learned that you had answered our letter, had answered as we wished in your broadcast on the first.

"We are particularly grateful to the Kádár Government for dealing in their foreign radio broadcasts with the problems that trouble us. It is really time for us to go home, since we do not want to help the capitalist system by our presence here. Only bad things are said about our country here, but we were happy there and if not for the counter-revolution disguised under the national flag we would still be happy at home.

"We know that our country is in a difficult position now, since her wounds must be healed, but are sure that under the proper leadership of the government which saved the proletarian dictatorship it will be possible to heal all wounds completely in a short time. Thanks to the aid of the Soviet Union we once more belong to the camp of people's democracy which can consolidate peace throughout the world."

"I left my country in December 1956," wrote the Hungarian youth *Gabor Szabo* from Springs (Transvaal). "I emigrated to the west with several of my compatriots and all of us would now like you to advise us: 'Just what are we to do to come home?' You may perhaps want to know why I did not turn to you before running away, but I don't rightly know the answer to that myself. I am young, just turned twenty, and it is possible that I wasn't able to think things out like a man."

Another young man, *Imre Terneczki*, wrote the following from Bochum (Western Germany):

"The October events of 1956 shook my faith in the people's democracy and, breaking my oath, I did a disgraceful thing—I left my country. I know that I have gravely sinned against the people in this. It is only now that I realize what the brief phrase 'left his country' really implies. I am now living in Western Germany and have only just come to understand the difference between the capitalist and socialist systems. It is only now that I can really see what those, who were out for the victory of the counter-revolution, were really after. As a Hungarian saying has it: 'The wise fellow learns from the misfortunes of others!' Unfortunately, I have had to learn from my own misfortune."

The former Putnok miner, *Béla Rondo*, wrote the following from Alfreton (England):

"As far as I know, many Hungarian youths are still in the British camps and are not working. The British and the 'Free Europe' broadcasting station deceived us when they invited the miners to come to Britain. I had heard about this over the radio at home and that is why I came. But like many others, we did not take part in the October events and now keep saying to one another: 'What fools we were to cross the border!'

"At home, in the Putnok mine, I worked as a tunneller and was well paid. I would like to return to the Hungarian mines.

"Life is best under a people's democracy. I say this as an honest Hungarian. Please be so kind as to answer my letter. There are many of us waiting for your answer."

"I am one of those ill-starred Hungarians who fled abroad during the counter-revolution!" wrote *István Lehotczki* from Kreis-Iserlohn (Western Germany).

"My wife and I belonged to no organization during the counter-revolution and took part in no incitements; we were just guided by curiosity, and, having come here, realized that we had lost all.

"We were far better off at home. I am not yet 22, but in October it will be two years since we were married. I am a metallurgical technician by trade and worked at the new central rolling mill in the Lenin Metallurgical Plant. My wife worked in the Gyosgyer branch of the K.G.M. plant. Both of us were well paid. It is with pain in our hearts that we now think back to those wonderful happy days at home. If only there had been an experienced person with us, someone who could have helped with good advice!

"We want to go home and beg you to help us. We have realized our mistake. We should not have done what we did—especially I who was orphaned at the age of 12. The Hungarian socialist state did not leave me in the lurch then. I was put in a school free of charge and given every opportunity to study. I very well realize how ungratefully I have acted and can only express my regrets. It was here that I really learned to love my country."

Tyuske Jenone Honerud wrote from Kangsbyga (Norway):

"I had better begin by saying that I left Hungary on November 28 with my husband and our four small children. From Austria we went to Norway.

"We would very much like to go home. Neither my husband nor I are guilty of any crimes. It was simply that we were terribly light-minded and cut ourselves away from liberty, happiness, and life, depriving our little children of a warm nest.

"The tears come to my eyes and I cannot help looking at the walls with hatred when I remember that only a year ago I was home and could watch the happy cheerful demonstrators on May 1 from my window at the hospital (because my youngest son was then being helped into the world by kind, solicitous hands).

"If we could get home there would be no one happier in the world than we. We have at last learned how one ought to love our dear Hungarian homeland which gave us freedom, happiness and a home. Words cannot express what we have lost by our light-mindedness."

A letter from *János Csonka* in Mulhouse (France) reads:

"I wish to beg forgiveness of János Kádár, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, and swear in the name of the Hungarian People's Republic that I shall never again desert my beautiful homeland, if I succeed in getting home. I have learned by my own experience what a man can expect abroad.

"At the prefecture they try to frighten us, saying that we will surely be arrested if we return to Hungary. But those are only words and we have had our fill of life abroad; we want to come home and urgently request our comrades to permit us to do so.

"We young people were attracted by the prospect of adventure, but if we can only come home now we shall never want to hear anything about travel abroad again. We have suffered enough! Now let the scoundrels and fascists suffer who wanted to live at someone else's expense."

* * *

Quite naturally, we were interested in another question concerning the fate of the Hungarian refugees: how do those of them feel and think who have managed to come home?

When we spoke to *Major Yakab* at the Militia Administration in Budapest about this, he reminded us, first of all,

that the Kádár Government had proclaimed an amnesty to all who had fled abroad during the events of 1956 and were not guilty of serious crimes.

"Now, too, no accusations whatever can be levelled against those who simply yielded to counter-revolutionary propaganda," said the major. "They can just come home. The organs of the people's power show maximum attention and kindness to those who have fully understood their mistake and are ready to make amends to their country by honest labour."

At the World Union of Hungarians we also inquired whether or not those who came home were helped to find work and living quarters.

"All who return are warmly received," said *Lajos Biro*, the Assistant General Secretary of the organization. "They have the right to return to their former jobs or, if that is impossible, to take new jobs. All are helped to find living quarters."

We then talked to some of the refugees who had come home.

Antal Kiss, an employee of the Budapest plant manufacturing equipment for state farms, was at home when we called on him. He had returned to Budapest from Turkey early this summer. A good deal of suffering and grief had fallen to his lot in Istanbul: hunger, then prison, and police clubbings. All this because he had firmly made up his mind to go home!

He and his comrades were all the happier, therefore, when after their torments they at last reached the Turkish-Bulgarian frontier. Kiss recalled how warmly the returning Hungarians were received in Bulgaria and Rumania.

"There were tears in our eyes when we reached the Hungarian border, tears of joy."

Antal Kiss found his apartment intact. He has returned to his old job. His wife works in a Budapest dining-room. His little daughter Agnes is cared for in a nursery.



Rehabilitating
buildings damaged
in the days of
counter-revolution



A rehabilitated
church in Buda-
pest



"It's a good thing I was able to return," said Kiss as we took leave. "Now I know just what it means to find oneself abroad, in the 'free world.'"

János Zsilka, a seventeen-year-old worker of a chemical plant in the town of Győr has recently returned from Britain.

"In London," he said, "I was hauled in by Scotland Yard like a tramp. They wanted to recruit me as agent. But I was already sorry ever to have fled to the West and refused to turn traitor to my country, to be a spy."

With great difficulty Zsilka and a group of his comrades at last managed to come home. He was very well received at his plant. His wages are quite good and he seems satisfied with life.

"They tried to frighten us with the prospect of prison and Siberia," said Zsilka. "Now we know what truth there is in Western propaganda. Our country receives all who return very well. I'm very happy to be home again."

In a garage in Budapest we spoke to a car driver who had returned after wandering about in foreign countries.

"It wasn't hard to get abroad," said *János Vire*, "but I barely managed to get back home at all from Hannover. When I decided to go home, everybody tried to intimidate me with the prospect of prison, said that they would be sure to arrest me in Hungary. Actually, no one has so much as said an impolite word to me since I returned."

Vire is a mechanic and earns 1,800 forints a month. His wife, a teacher, earns 1,200 forints a month.

"We have a place to live, my wife and I," said Vire, "but we're not satisfied with it. We've decided to buy a good apartment. That is why I've taken an additional job as auto mechanic at the Rugdenta Plant. This adds 800 forints a month to my wages at the garage and enables me to put 1,500 to 2,000 forints in the bank every month. We hope to celebrate our house-warming in the autumn."

At the same garage we had a talk with the drivers *Vilmosz Hirsch* and *György Appel* who had both returned

from Switzerland. Their co-worker *Erne Verbes*, another driver, had returned from Denmark. All were living and working in their native Budapest as of old.

We also made the acquaintance of fourteen-year-old *Ilona Szalai*. Returned from Canada where she had fled with her father, she has by now finished her eighth form at school and intends to enter a vocational school this autumn. Her family had to borrow a good deal of money to enable her to come home. The family is now saving the money for a ticket for her father whose letters are full of longing for home and those who are near and dear to him. He can hardly wait for the time when he shall be able to come home.

At the locomotive depot of the Eastern Station of Budapest we spoke to *Balint Kiss* who had recently returned from America. He is now working as a fitter and lives in his old apartment.

Many examples such as these could be cited.

It is not only plain people who are coming back, but also many scientists, doctors, students and sportsmen. The famous goal-keeper of the national football team *Grosic* had just returned from abroad when we were in Budapest. Another well-known football player who returned is *Bozsik*, now on the "Gonved" team taking part in the championship games.

Among those who returned is the gifted Hungarian runner *Iharos*. The Budapest fans have once again been applauding the famous water-polo player *Karpati* at Margit-Szigete. The sport contests are once more being reported over the radio by *Szepesi*, the most popular commentator in Hungary.

People's Hungary receives the returned refugees with friendliness and affection. They are given the right to live in freedom and work peacefully for the welfare of their people, to devote their knowledge, energy and talents to the building of socialist society.

6. EXHIBITION ON NADAR STREET

This summer an exhibition, "The Counter-Revolution in Hungary from October 23 to November 4, 1956," opened in the Literary Museum of Budapest, on Nadar Street. Prepared by the Information Bureau under the Hungarian People's Republic Council of Ministers, it was on view in June and July. During this period tens of thousands of people of Budapest and other parts of the country visited the exhibition, after which it was sent out to the large cities of Hungary.

We visited this exhibition not long before it was closed. Numerous photographs and newsreel stills taken during the events, arms of foreign make seized from the rebels, and many other exhibits convincingly tell the story of how the counter-revolutionary underground with the support of the fascist émigrés and certain foreign intelligence services prepared and attempted to overthrow the people's democratic government in Hungary.

Below are a number of notes taken at random from the Visitors' Book.

"The counter-revolution was ruthless in Horthy's time too. Now we've come against it once more. Fight it now and always!

"Soos Gyula."

"We shall strengthen our determination not to let the old regime be restored, to keep the fascists from realizing their plans.

"Group of pupils of the Rákóczi Secondary School."

"Honest people, never forget October 23! The counter-revolutionaries wanted to destroy our future—socialism. Fight with a firm hand against the fascists, so that it never happens again." No signature, but there is a comment instead: "We say that often enough: Never again! It depends on us ourselves to see that it really never does take place again.

"Pola János."

"I'm 45 years old. I have lived through five pogroms. In 1919 I was six years old, and lived through the pogrom of the fascist 'guard of ragamuffins.' Then came the bloodshed in the south and the sadism of the members of the Crossed Arrows in 1944. Those killers were the ones who trained their descendants to cook up October 23. Let us strengthen our revolutionary vigilance!

"Nagy Demes, 2nd District, Martirok 33."

"There will be no more counter-revolution in Hungary, because we know now that those foul traitors were only out to restore the old system of oppressing the people. They were badly mistaken when they yelled that the Hungarian youth would not support communism. Let them see for themselves! We will never let the counter-revolutionaries lay waste to our country.

"Bogacsi Ferenc."

"I believe there will be no more counter-revolution in Hungary because the working people have taken up arms and will fight to defend the people's power.

"Palko Istvanne."

"Dear Comrades! I have seen this exhibition and it completely reflects the truth. My one and only wish is that the hooligans who took part in the counter-revolution be judged more severely. They did not think of being humane, they were ruthless.

"They must be severely tried on behalf of the people.

"Farkas Janosne."

"There was and will be dictatorship of the proletariat in Hungary. We will not allow the counter-revolutionaries to have freedom of action.

"Urvari Sándor, student"

"We must oppose the attempts of the counter-revolutionaries to acquire even a moment's power, with a stronger dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Kirajke."

"I pledge in memory of my comrades tortured to death, the portraits of Lenin and Gorky trampled upon by the counter-revolutionaries, the books by Petőfi and Veres Marty burned by them, the Red Banner and the Red Star crushed by the fascists, to defend my dear country, the Hungarian People's Republic, from every attack by the barbarous imperialist band.

"Holasi Sándor, army man."

"When you see this exhibition, your fists clench hard. We must ruthlessly fight the counter-revolution. I think we have the right to demand an even stronger dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Koszas István"

"It makes your skin creep to think what would have happened to the Hungarian people if the brave, heroic soldiers of the Soviet Union had not helped us to rout those vile pillagers.

"Eternal glory to the Soviet soldier—our brave liberator. He defended the future of the Hungarian people.

"Rarga Maria, pensioner."

"Life here has conquered Death.

"Seres Nindosz."

"We have received freedom for the second time thanks to the heroic Soviet soldiers. Now we are guarding it with a strong hand.

"V. N."

"Eternal glory and gratitude to the great and heroic Soviet soldiers who freed us from the horrors of fascism. Eternal glory to the Soviet people.

"Varga."

"Fascism will never again be allowed to pass!

"I am leaving the exhibition with tears in my eyes. As long as I live I shall remember and mourn my comrades

who died for socialism. I am 63 years old. In 1919 I fought for Soviet power.

"Legoczki János, Kispeszt."

"We shall never again allow our children to be misled. We must fight to get our children back from the West, our children who were snatched from us.

"Sollak Erzsebet Krizsanne."

"Glory to the Soviet Union for the sacrifice it has made. Many young men gave their lives here for our freedom. October 23 must never happen again! Let this be a lesson to each honest worker.

"Lokotosne, worker's wife."

"Death to every counter-revolutionary who raises his hand against the workers' government.

"A group of workers."

"In 1952 I already felt that Nagy Imre was forcing us on to a corrupt road. And the events confirmed my forebodings. Nagy Imre is nothing but a traitor, and the Hungarian people will condemn him.

"Pela Sándor."

A note made in the Russian language:

"Long live the great Soviet Army who liberated us for the second time!

"Sándor Erzsibet, Sándor Maria, Sándor Andor."

"After seeing the exhibition I think we are too humane with regard to the enemies of the people.

"In my opinion every honest Hungarian should doff his hat to the Soviet soldiers, because they liberated us for the second time. I am entirely with those who fought against the counter-revolution with arms in hand.

"József N."

"Men! Honest men!

"In our progressive era this must not happen again. Wake up at last and stand on the side of the heroic Soviet

people. Every man who wants peace should take heed of my words.

"Zucs Imre, pensioner, 68 years old."

"Long live Hungarian-Soviet friendship! Glory to the Soviet people who fell in battle for the freedom of the Hungarian people!

"Hambor A."

"In 1944 the barbarous fascists annihilated all my near and dear ones—47 persons in all. Two of my brothers were shot as organizers of the strike at the Csepel Works.

"All I had left was a brother who served in the People's Army. But there were people who sought to destroy me too. The counter-revolutionaries persecuted me from October 23 to November 4.

"Perhaps my personal misfortunes have no place here, but the exhibition aroused my memories of the past. Here everything reflects the truth.

"Karczah Istvanne, woman worker of newspaper dispatch offices."

"We shall live and work so that this never happens again.

"Varga Tibor."

"We girls, if need be, shall not spare our lives to defend the power of the working class.

"Varogy Marta."

"October 23 happened only once, and will never happen again. The working class will never surrender its power. Better surrender your life than betray your country.

"The workers' militia is the loyal guard of socialism!

"Gulics Jozsefne, member of the workers' guard."

IV. INTERVIEWS WITH THE LEADERS OF PEOPLE'S HUNGARY

1. VISITING HUNGARIAN PRESIDENT DOBI

Hungarian President István Dobi received us on Sunday, August 4, in his office in Parliament House.

"I'm not going to tell you the things that are already well known," said the President, "that is, about the Petőfi circle, our *Literary Gazette*, those who, under the guise of criticizing the old mistakes of Rákosi and Gerő were preparing to attack the people's rule."

In the afternoon of October 23, when the student demonstration had begun, President Dobi was in the House of the Cooperatives. He rode along the main thoroughfares in his car on the way to Parliament House and saw with his own eyes everything that took place. It became obvious in the very first hours after the start of the events that the students' demonstration which had taken place that day had served merely as a smokescreen for the counter-revolutionary organizations that had prepared a rebellion while underground. Characteristically, as early as October 23 you could have heard people shouting in the streets of Budapest: "Power to Mindszenty!"

It was precisely the reactionary section of the demonstration which demanded Mindszenty that was well organized. It was they who began to snatch *Szabad Nép*, the newspaper of the Hungarian Working People's Party, from passers-by and burn it. And the nationalistic, chauvinist slogans and demands were started off by them.

The students with their appeals for "friendship with the U.S.S.R. on equal terms" were soon pushed into the background. The well-organized counter-revolutionary group, who already carried under their coats submachine-guns and pistols, inflamed the amorphous but already excited mass of demonstrators who were going from one extreme to another.

When shooting started in the city the President called from his office the Ministry of Defence.

"We'll put a stop to all this within half an hour!" he was assured by Minister Bata.

In reality, however, the armed forces were inactive because of the traitors' actions, the Nagy Government sat in session intermittently while the counter-revolutionaries were already besieging the buildings of Radio Budapest and the Central Telephone Exchange, and broke into the armories and arms plants.

"In the evening of October 25," President Dobi continued his story, "a large and very mixed crowd gathered again before Parliament House in an attempt to find out the situation and to talk with the leaders of the government."

The men behind the scenes who organized this demonstration acted, as is in such cases, underhandedly, behind the backs of the Budapest people they fooled. Counter-revolutionary agents, appearing here and there in the crowds, shouted the same slogans and demands that were intensively broadcast the eve before by Radio "Free Europe."

The people that gathered before Parliament asked the guards to permit a delegation to enter the premises in order to meet President Dobi. The President stated that he was ready to receive the delegation. Learning this, the crowd began to quieten down.

But such a turn did not suit at all the reactionary organizers of the demonstration. So they took recourse to a vile provocation: suddenly shots were fired in the square, and people in the crowd began to fall as they were struck by bullets. A panic and general confusion arose.

The provocateurs opened fire not only on the crowd but also at the windows of Parliament House. In the President's office the window-frames were shattered at once by submachine-gun fire.

Kristof, Secretary of the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic, who was at the time together with Dobi, peered through a window in one of the neighbouring halls to see where the shots came from. It turned out that the provocateurs who were firing upon Parliament House and the crowd on the square, settled themselves in the buildings opposite the Parliament, specifically, in the premises of the Ministry of Construction. That is where the flashes from the shots were observed at the windows and attics.

When the firing started, several hundred unarmed demonstrators who were directly in front of the main entrance to Parliament House found refuge in the building. It is sufficiently clear, by the way, that this could not have happened were the firing against the demonstrators done by the guard at the entrance, as alleged by provocateurs.

Correspondents of many Western papers and radio, however, reported that day from Budapest that "state security troops with the support of Soviet tanks" were shooting down a peaceful demonstration. "Free Europe" immediately set up a howl about "the slaughter near Parliament." Is there need to say that the reactionary elements made the most of this slander at the moment to inflame anti-Soviet, chauvinist sentiments in the country.

Now this oft reiterated and oft exposed counter-revolutionary invention about the imaginary shooting down of peaceful citizens of Budapest by "Soviet tanks" is being presented to world public opinion in the report by the so-called Committee of Five on behalf of the United Nations. On what grounds? From the words uttered by anonymous "witnesses," among whom are also the fascist organizers of this provocation that had fled to the West!

Those demonstrators, however, who had managed to find shelter in Parliament, nevertheless elected a five-man dele-

gation. They were received by Dobi in one of the rooms which had not suffered from the shots.

"These were simple rank-and-file Budapest residents," the President explained, "who were entirely thrown off balance by the events. We sat and talked a long time in a good and friendly spirit, after which they quietly left for their homes."

In those days various and sometimes most unusual delegations (former manufacturers, landowners and leaders of reactionary parties that had been dissolved) began to visit Parliament one after another. They delivered petitions, proposals and demands aimed at restoring the old order; even Horthy officers in full dress uniform came to Parliament. Here is what the President told us about one of these delegations:

"A group of such gentlemen appeared in my office. They even dressed up in accordance with the situation, like the gentry in old Hungary. . . . And they brought with them a memorandum, no less, calling for the restoration of the Party of Hungarian Life, which existed at the time of Horthy and was headed by the fascist premier Gömbös."

In the parties of the so-called "1945 coalition" (Smallholders, Peasants and Social-Democrats) which were reinstated at the moment the tone was also set by the extreme Right and reactionary elements—former kulaks, industrialists and landowners.

Former deputies of bourgeois parties—reactionary lawyers, landowners, manufacturers, politicians and simply adventurers—came to Parliament with demands to appoint them to various posts, including that of minister.

Thus József Kővágó, who had just been let out of prison where he had been serving a sentence for his anti-government activities, came to President Dobi. He stated that he wanted to be appointed Hungarian representative to the United Nations. He hinted that he already had a tentative agreement with some of the members of the government. But first of all he demanded to be officially rehabili-

tated and paid compensation. "Without this I won't go anywhere," he asserted.

"You realize what was, in reality, the power of Nagy's Government if every scoundrel might come here and demand things like this?" the President says.

In general, the number of those who claimed power grew in those days like mushrooms. Minister Bognár told President Dobi, for instance, the following fact. Deri, one of the leaders of the Union of Writers who had played an active role in the preparations for the revolt, appeared in Imre Nagy's office. He stated that since the Nagy Government was clearly incapable of functioning, the Union proposed to form a Directorate of seven writers and intellectuals who would rule the land "until order would be restored."

The Nagy Government, which was changing its composition almost every hour, chose its ever new "ministers" from a very narrow, and at the same time very diversified, group of politicians who were brought back from their political non-existence by the counter-revolutionary wave.

By the way, President Dobi informed us about an important detail. Every new member of the government, in accordance with the Hungarian Constitution, has to pronounce his oath of allegiance before the President of the Hungarian People's Republic. Neither Anna Kéthly nor István Bibó, whom the Western press still calls "ministers of the lawful Nagy Government," did not deliver such an oath and therefore juridically did not take up that office. They were included in the so-called "enlarged cabinet" merely by decision of the government itself, which was in its last gasps.

* * *

On October 24 President Dobi met with Imre Nagy who became Prime Minister. They discussed the question of expanding the government.

In those very days "Free Europe" was shouting its head off that it was necessary to include Tildy, Tamási and Ko-

vács in the government. The crowds raging in the streets reiterated the same demand.

Aro Tamasi rejected Nagy's proposal that he join the government. "In three or four days there will be a new government," he asserted, "which will correspond more to the demands of the moment, and then I will give my consent." Zóltán Tildy accepted.

"I had known Zóltán Tildy a long time," said President Dobi. "And I really thought in those days that his participation in the government would be of service to the people's democracy. We had many talks with him after 1945, during which he stressed the necessity for Hungary of strengthening her friendship with the Soviet Union. He used to claim that never during the last thousand years was Hungary in such a good position as now! He emphasized time and again that the friendly relations with the Soviet Union should be strengthened."

But now he appeared to be an entirely different person. When Tildy joined the cabinet Dobi told him that it was necessary to orientate himself better in the situation, for there were clearly elements of counter-revolution in evidence.

"I was trying to convince him that it was counter-revolution," related the President, "and that it was taking the upper hand. Although the forces that could oppose it were much more numerous, they were split up. It was necessary to act firmly. It would have been a crime to allow the liquidation of the people's democratic order. And none but the U.S.S.R. could help us. It must help us not only by virtue of the Warsaw Treaty, but as our friend, as a socialist brother. But Tildy did not want to hear anything about it."

Soon Dobi learned about Tildy's real thoughts and intentions. First of all, the latter openly advocated Hungary's orientation on the West, saying that it was necessary to accept any aid offered by the Western Powers. It also appeared that even before October 24, when Tildy was offered to join the Nagy Government, he himself conducted nego-

tiations about the composition of the government with representatives of the Catholic circles, leaders of the Calvinists and even with student organizations.

When the followers of Gömbös came to the President with the demand of restoring the Party of Hungarian Life, the latter took the "memorandum" and showed it to Zóltán Tildy.

"Well, you didn't believe that this is counter-revolution," the President told him. "Now it has come to proclaim itself. Here, you can convince yourself."

Tildy took the "memorandum," read it and put it into his pocket-book without saying a word.

Another contender for power that appeared on the scene at the time, Cardinal Mindszenty, tried to get the support of President Dobi. On returning to Budapest, Mindszenty informed Dobi through his own secretary that he would like to see him. Learning of this, Zóltán Tildy said that he must be present during this conversation.

Later Tildy said he would go to Mindszenty himself and agree with him about the time for his call on the President. Soon Tildy together with Maleter (who by that time had already become Defence Minister) went to Mindszenty. What they talked about during this visit Tildy failed to inform the President.

Tildy merely told his close associates that "he spent the time usefully" and that "the old man has good ideas." At the same time, talking with a large group of former deputies of the Smallholders' Party, Tildy stated:

"If the need arises I will go as far as a dictatorship, but things will go here just the way I think they should!"

Smilingly, President Dobi said:

"But my meeting with Mindszenty did not take place. Well, I don't know what he figured on, but as for me, I don't think I have lost much."

The journalist Győrnai Kocsis László, one of Tildy's friends, who often saw Dobi those days, explained to him once during a frank conversation the reasons for his boss's

conduct. Tildy was afraid, he said, that in the near future, when Ferenc Nagy, Béla Várگا, Sulyok and other leaders would return from abroad, he could be pushed back from power and the leadership of the Smallholders' Party. Then the "memorandum" of the Gömbös group might come in handy; he could, in the extreme case, join that party.

Tildy, according to Györnai, took a firm course for the West. He believed that the Soviet Union would be unable to resist pressure from the United States and its allies and would therefore have gradually to "cede" Eastern Europe to them. This version was being intensely spread in those days by Western diplomatic representatives among their Hungarian friends. A rumour was even circulated to the effect that a "secret agreement" was concluded on that score in Geneva, during the Four-Power top level talks.

With the growth of counter-revolutionary rioting in Budapest, the reactionary elements in the Nagy Government were strengthening their position to an ever increasing degree and were taking the upper hand. Various provocative inventions and slander were circulated to frighten those members of the government who vacillated and were averse to help overthrow the people's democracy.

Here is an illustration of this. At the November 3 session of the government Losonczy, Nagy's closest associate, announced in a hysterical tone that the Soviet troops in Cegled organized an alleged "blood bath." As it was established later, this entire slanderous "information" was a pure and unadulterated invention. However, at the time it made a powerful impression on all those present.

That was the hysterical atmosphere in which, under the direct pressure of the counter-revolutionary forces openly conducting frantic White terror on the streets of Budapest and other Hungarian towns, the small group of politicians fighting for power and titling itself the "Nagy Government" were adopting their "decisions."

In the meantime the government itself, having lost control of the situation, was actually falling apart.

"Free Europe," followed by the reactionary agitators on the streets, were already directly demanding the replacement of Nagy by a more "dependable" figure. The Moor has done his duty: the way was cleared for an openly reactionary regime.

On the night of November 3, the personal bodyguard of Zoltán Tildy, accompanied by several armed people, appeared in the office of President Dobi. He told Dobi that he was arrested on the orders of the government and ordered him to follow. Sándor Rónai, Chairman of the National Assembly, was seized at the same time. Kristof, Secretary of the Presidium who had gone to the check-room for his coat, managed to slip away. The counter-revolution was ready to wind up its list of crimes it had started on October 23, 1956.

Several hours later, at dawn on November 4, an alarm was sounded in the "right wing" of Parliament: "The Soviet troops are coming! The building is surrounded by tanks!" The guards fled in panic.

Dobi and Rónai went upstairs. Here quite a curious sight met their eyes. In the radio room where a microphone was located for government speeches they discovered . . . Cardinal Mindszenty himself in full regalia of his office, surrounded by a group of his followers.

Tildy was sitting in the next room. He began to complain to Dobi about how Nagy had fooled him at the last minute.

At dawn Nagy and Tildy learned from a radio broadcast that a Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Government headed by Kádár had been formed and that Soviet troops were marching on the city, at the request of the Kádár Government to suppress the counter-revolution. The ill-fated premier and his state minister decided to slip away from Parliament House unnoticed.

Tildy and his wife were walking in front, followed by Nagy, who was carrying a small satchel. Tildy was talking to Nagy about where to find shelter. Suddenly he felt as if



At the news-stands you can buy any newspaper or magazine



New housing is under construction in Budapest

he was talking to himself, for Nagy wasn't saying a word. He turned around and found that the latter had vanished.

As it was learned later, Nagy bent around a corner without saying anything and fled. Tildy, who evidently did not have a "previously reserved place" in any foreign embassy, decided to return.

Tildy's narrative was interrupted by his son, who acted as secretary for him. He came in and said to his father in quite a lofty tone:

"The guards that are loyal to us are ready for defence. Will you order them to engage the Soviet troops in battle?"

"What are you talking about!" Tildy hastened to reply. "The Soviet people never were our enemies...."

The Soviet troops did not touch anyone. They only set up an external guard. The Soviet officers announced to the people inside that they could leave unhindered for their homes. Immediately Mindszenty, Tildy, their associates and the national guards left the building.

Only Dobi, Rónai and a small group of patriots remained. Kristof, who had hidden himself in one of the corners of the vast building, also returned. He immediately undertook to organize a guard and next morning, November 5, the Soviet guards standing on watch at the Parliament walls gave place to the Hungarian workers' militia.

There is another interesting and really funny episode to complete the picture of the end of the Nagy "government" after the tragic events. About noon on November 4 Dobi was informed that in the former office of Tildy two sleeping men were discovered, and that they strongly smelled of *Palinka* (a Hungarian type of vodka). The mess and a large number of empty wine bottles bore witness to a recent "celebration" there.

As it turned out, on the night of November 3, Tildy received (while his guards were arresting Dobi and Rónai) some Western correspondents and treated them to a drink. When Dobi entered the room one of the men was already awake. That was István Bibó, a member of the "enlarged

cabinet." Seeing the President, Bibó jumped to his feet. The following dialogue took place between them:

"Well, did the United Nations arrive?" he asked Dobi.

"What United Nations?!"

"Well, you know, the 'international police force'!"

"Oh, no, they have more important matters to attend, the Suez Canal. But our Soviet comrades did indeed arrive."

The President told the hapless "minister" how his colleagues with Nagy at their head abandoned him. Bibó rushed to the phone. Calling the American Embassy, he stated:

"This is Bibó. I am the only remaining minister of the Nagy Government now in Parliament, but will right away be sent off to Siberia. Please let the United Nations know about that."

When, however, Bibó was informed that, like Mindszenty, Tildy and company, he might freely go wherever he wished, he didn't want to leave.

"So we had to feed him and issue him a blanket," said the President. "Later we showed him the door. But 'Free Europe' began to howl at once about the unfortunate Bibó, who was being deported to Siberia."

* * *

We asked President Dobi to tell us something about the Kádár Government and the normalization of life in the country in conclusion of our interview.

"As President of the Hungarian Republic," stated Dobi, "I supported the Kádár Government from the very outset of its formation. It was, and is, the lawful and authorized government of Hungary.

"We knew," the President continued, "that the power and solidarity of the socialist camp was tremendous. Now the Hungarian people have become convinced of that by their own experience.

"I would like to emphasize the important role played by the fraternal aid rendered us by the Soviet Union, China

and other socialist countries in normalizing the life in our country. Our people recognize this fact.

"It is precisely this wonderful power of socialist, proletarian solidarity that made it possible for us within such a brief period to restore normal life in the country.

"The reactionaries and enemies of socialism can prate in the West whatever they please," said Dobi in conclusion, "but the working people of Hungary, all true Hungarian patriots, support the Kádár Government. The people see that honest, simple people with good intentions, devoted to the interests of the people and the cause of socialism, stand at the head of the government."

2. INTERVIEW WITH STATE MINISTER GYÖRGY MAROSAN

In Budapest we spoke with György Marosan, the State Minister and member of the Political Bureau of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. We asked him to tell us about the October events and the normalization of life in the country. Here is what the State Minister told us:

"I have lived in Hungary all my life. I know the people here very well, and every house, every stone. It is impossible to understand the events that began on October 23 without bearing in mind the fact that Hungary was the first country with a fascist regime, even when Mussolini and Hitler had not yet appeared in the political arena.

"During the past war the Hungarian fascists continued to resist even after Hitlerite Germany was defeated.

"What was characteristic of Hungary during the period of fascism was also true of the counter-revolution during the October events. There is no denying the orgy indulged in by nationalism and social demagoguery during those days.

"At our request the Soviet Union helped to suppress the counter-revolution in Hungary. The Soviet people not only fulfilled their duty under the terms of the Warsaw Treaty, but they fulfilled their duty as internationalists.

"In asking the Soviet troops' aid we acted and act in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population of our country. It is our duty and obligation to take all measures to protect the power of the working class and of all working people.

"The Hungarian people fully realize that now, as well as all those who cherish the interests of peace.

"Not long ago an American correspondent asked me what basis I had for asserting that the Kádár Government was in full control of the situation in the country. In reply I said that we would have been unable to suppress the counter-revolution without the aid of the Soviet Union, but that we are now managing our country without the participation of Soviet armed forces. Soviet troops do not interfere in the internal affairs of the country, but they are in Hungary for the defence of peace and they will remain there as long as the Hungarian Government wishes them to. The Soviet troops do not interfere with us in any way and they will leave Hungary for home when the American troops are withdrawn from Europe.

"Never before was there such a pure, firm Hungarian-Soviet friendship as that which has been formed now. Would such a thing have been possible if the truth and facts were not in our favour? Of course not!

"What truth and what facts do I have in mind here? For instance, the Hungarian peasants did not take part in the counter-revolution, they were not anti-Soviet. And here is the reason why: Until 1945 Hungary was a feudal land. There were tremendous estates that belonged to the aristocracy and the church. And these lands were inviolable. For instance, the lands of the Counts Eszterhazy could neither be sold nor purchased during the course of several centuries. At the same time the peasants of Hungary lived in dire need.

"After fascism was routed in Hungary in 1945 it took a month to break the fetters of feudalism and then the peasants received their land. At first they were even afraid

to take it, so great was their fear of the one-time omnipotent landowner, who had been backed up by the entire fascist regime with Horthy at its head.

"The Hungarian peasant was faced by the question: Who had given him this land which he had been unable to wrest from the exploiters through so many centuries of struggle? Would he have received that land if American or English troops had been in Hungary, and not the Soviet troops? No, of course he would not have received it. He then saw and understood that this distribution of the land among the peasants came about as a result of the presence of Soviet troops there.

"The peasants, like all other Hungarians, also realized that the transfer of industry, the banks, railways and other instruments and means of production to the Hungarian people took place only after the Soviet troops had routed the fascists. And this would not have been the case had American troops been there.

"And as soon as Mindszenty spoke over the radio, outlining a programme for the restoration of the old order, even those who were deceived by counter-revolutionary propaganda, became sober and realized what was what. That is why the Hungarian peasantry welcomed the actions of the Soviet Army in Hungary during those events.

"This reminds me of a noteworthy occurrence. In a certain village, on October 27 and 28, a group of former Horthy officers and kulaks disarmed the militia and occupied the building of the village council. After that they set off towards a monument erected to Soviet soldiers who had fallen in the battles against fascism in 1945, and destroyed it. When the peasants saw that, they surrounded the mutineers and demanded that they give up their arms. The Horthy officers and kulaks did as the others demanded. The peasants then held a meeting at which they drew up a list of the names of those who had taken part in the destruction of the monument and decided that those who had partici-

pated in its destruction would have to restore it. And those counter-revolutionaries restored the monument.

"Incidentally, almost all those monuments which had been erected in various parts of the country to Soviet soldiers who had fallen in battle in 1945 and which had been destroyed during the October events, have now been restored, and exclusively on the initiative of the local population. The government did not issue any instructions in this connection.

"Nor did the Hungarian working class support the counter-revolution. The working class understood the aims of the counter-revolution from the words and deeds of all sorts of little Mindszentys.

"There in the West they are now trying to prove that there was no danger of the restoration of capitalism in Hungary during the October events. As a matter of fact, there was not only a potential threat of restoration, but even attempts at restoration had already been made. I shall tell you of only one occurrence which I myself witnessed. On November 1, I was in my office in the Parliament building. Various delegations came there. One of them came over to me. It consisted of six people, three former bakery owners whom I knew personally for I was once employed there as a hired worker, and three were factory-owners. I received them. One of them turned to me and said: "Your excellency, we have brought you the demand of manufacturers to repeal the law nationalizing small and average-sized enterprises."

"I told them that I was not a member of the government and did not receive demands of any kind, then asked them who was behind them and when they would come with a demand that the nationalization of large enterprises also be annulled. They left without making any reply.

"Several hours later another delegation called on Imre Nagy and Zóltán Tildy, and demanded the complete annulment of the nationalization of all industry. And if the government of János Kádár had not been formed, undoubtedly

the nationalization of industry in Hungary, that greatest achievement of the Hungarian working class, would have been abolished.

"A few words about the activity of the Kádár Government. This government was formed on November 3 in the city of Szolnok, and on November 4 it was announced to the people. At the very first meeting of the Council of Ministers we discussed two questions: Moving over to Budapest as quickly as possible and establishing law and order in the country.

"The night of November 6 the government moved over to Budapest and immediately was confronted with great difficulties, the most important of which were the complete political chaos, the insufficiency of food products inasmuch as the stores had been plundered by the counter-revolutionaries, the insufficiency of electric power and water, and also the resistance to all government measures on the part of the self-styled 'workers' councils,' which were infested with counter-revolutionaries.

"Just a word about the idea of organizing 'workers' councils' in Hungary. The followers of this idea make usually reference to Yugoslavia's experience. There is nothing I can say about that experience, since I have never been in Yugoslavia. Perhaps the workers' councils have justified themselves in Yugoslavia. That is the internal affair of the Yugoslavian comrades. But I am firmly convinced that workers' councils are not necessary in Hungary. We have our trade unions, which have been existing in our country for over a hundred years and which have fine traditions.

"We did not forbid the activity of the workers' councils at our enterprises, those councils which were created during and after the October events. But at that time such people made their way into the workers' councils, especially their administration, who as a rule had nothing in common with the interests of the working class. Those people were not workers but the class enemies of the workers, people who

tried to use the workers' councils to screen their activity against the people.

"The time that elapsed since the counter-revolution was wiped out has shown that the idea of the workers' councils in Hungary was abortive and they are gradually being abolished at our enterprises.

"How was life in the country normalized after the October events?

"From the very first day of its organization our Workers' and Peasants' Government with János Kádár at its head pursued a firm and consistent policy of resolute suppression of the counter-revolutionary elements. It is very important to point out that in conducting this policy the government depended on the troops loyal to it and on the units of armed workers, which were organized the very first days when the government moved to Budapest.

"The government was firm in demanding that all who illegally owned arms, should give them up immediately, and it was also firm in declaring and maintaining a state of emergency in the country and in other revolutionary measures.

"The people regarded the government of János Kádár as its dependable defender against the counter-revolution and began to support all its actions.

"Of great significance for the growth of the authority of the government were the visits to Hungary by delegations of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, China, Rumania and other fraternal countries. It was confirmation of the fact that not only our own people recognized and supported our government, but also the fraternal peoples of the countries of the socialist camp.

"Right after the suppression of the armed putsch, the socialist countries, and the Soviet Union first of all, rendered us tremendous material aid. Thanks to this aid we were able not only to escape inflation but also to overcome economic difficulties resulting from the material harm wrought by the counter-revolution.

"At that time two American journalists visited me and asked for an interview. I agreed, but having a bitter experience of Western falsification, I set certain conditions: to invite a stenographer to record the entire interview in two copies. Both they and I would sign both copies, after which I would retain one of these copies and they the other. They listened to the terms I set, thanked me and took their leave, no longer wishing the interview.

"Since the beginning of this year the all-round normalization of life in the country has been proceeding very rapidly. As regards our economy, for instance, we have already, in the main, achieved the level of the corresponding period of last year. I shall give you just a few figures. If we consider the average monthly level of gross production of entire Hungarian industry from January to September of last year as 100, the figures for this year will be: January—69, February—81, March—88, April—93, May—95, June—98. Labour productivity in industry has developed at a similar pace.

"Of especially great importance for us was the fight for coal. The absolute figures showing the rise in coal production are: in November-December 1956 the average daily amount of coal produced was 12,000 tons, in January it was 47,000 tons, in February—59,000 tons, in March—65,000 tons, in April—68,000 tons, in May—70,000 tons and in June—71,000 tons. The state plan for coal for the first six months of 1957 provided for a daily output on the average of 62,200 tons. Actually we produced 63,900 tons.

"Thanks to certain changes in the relative development of various branches of the national economy and also the aid received by us from the Soviet Union, China and other fraternal countries, we were able to raise the real wages of the factory and office workers, on the average, by 15-16 per cent as compared with last year. The annulment of obligatory deliveries of agricultural products in the village and a number of other privileges have served considerably to raise the incomes of the peasantry.

"We are still faced by many difficulties and many unsolved questions. But life itself has proved that the Hungarian people stand for socialism. The reason the people went into the streets on October 23, 1956, was not because they were opposed to socialism, but because they wanted to remove the burden of the mistakes of the past. The counter-revolution cleverly took advantage of these sentiments of the people and tried to turn the wheel of history back. But whatever it did to mask its true aims the people came to understand the real state of affairs and gave a rebuff to their enemies."

3. THE MAYOR OF BUDAPEST ON THE NORMALIZATION OF LIFE IN THE HUNGARIAN CAPITAL

We visited the Mayor of Budapest, Doctor Kálmán Pongrácz, and asked him to tell us how the city was normalizing its life and what work the Budapest City Council was doing. This is what he had to say:

"During the days of the counter-revolution, the city was considerably damaged. Of the 130,000 buildings in Budapest, 5,000 were damaged to a greater or lesser degree (this figure includes buildings in which the roof, walls, architectural details or window glass were impaired). The over-all damage done to the municipal economy runs into one thousand million forints. Shops and other trading enterprises located in the ground floors of buildings received the greatest injury. Some 2,500 shops and other trading enterprises were damaged to the sum of 700 million forints, not counting the cost of the products looted by the counter-revolutionaries.

"After the liquidation of the counter-revolution, the main task of the Budapest City Council was to rehabilitate and repair the damaged apartment houses before winter set in. This was not easily done, since the builders lacked sufficient building materials. During this period the Moscow

City Soviet rendered Budapest substantial aid by sending several trainloads of building materials, including 2,000 tons of metal roofing, of which Hungary constantly experienced a shortage.

"Thanks to this aid, the Budapest City Council was able to supply the homeless population of the city with flats.

"Reconstruction of buildings, streets and blocks went on simultaneously with the rehabilitation and repair of houses.

"In the district of the Kiliano Barracks, the streets undergoing repairs were at the same time broadened. New arcades are being built in Rákóczi Street for the convenience of pedestrians, since the sidewalks here are narrow and the traffic heavy.

"All the buildings that received damages, no matter how slight, were carefully examined by building engineers, and then subjected to capital repairs, i.e., everything in and about them was repaired that had been worn out during the years of their exploitation.

"By decision of the City Council, during the summer months all the main streets of the city were repaired and partly paved. The chief thoroughfares were repaired with an eye to converting all the ground floors of buildings into shops and rendering the appearance of the streets completely modern.

"The work of repairing and decorating the buildings is more or less completed. The Budapest builders are in a hurry to finish the interiors before winter. In the main all the shops have been repaired and are trading normally.

"Budapest's city transport is not only completely restored, despite the great damage done to it, but has been considerably expanded and renovated. New comfortable buses can be seen in the streets, new tramway and bus lines have been opened, and the number of taxis increased.

"Highly qualified engineers and architects, headed by Engineer István Bartos, Deputy Mayor of the city, are managing all the repair and building jobs.

"In the West there is a good deal of misinformation

about Hungary in general, and Budapest in particular. This is all the more strange since we have many foreigners visiting us who can see for themselves that life in Budapest, and the country as a whole, has long since been brought back to normal.

"The Budapest City Council did not stop functioning even during the events, except for a day and a half, from the afternoon of November 1 to the morning of November 3, when its premises were occupied by counter-revolutionaries. The district councils of the city continued to work. As a matter of fact, all the people's councils in Hungary survived during the days of the counter-revolution and proved their capacity of coping with their jobs. The counter-revolutionaries were unable to penetrate the people's councils. After the liquidation of the counter-revolution, each council, without waiting for instructions from the government, commenced at once to solve the practical problems of liquidating the results of the counter-revolution within the limits of their districts, cities or regions.

"The housing problem of Budapest is solved in the main, although of course there still is a shortage of living quarters. For this reason house building is proceeding on a large scale. This year the Budapest City Council intends to build about 5,500 flats, and over 5,000 flats next year. Many apartment houses are besides being built by enterprises, cooperative organizations and private persons.

"Budapest's population has taken an active part in the rehabilitation of the city. After the events more than 200,000 cubic metres of rubbish accumulated in the streets of the city had to be removed before spring. With the aid of the people, the Budapest City Council was able to clear the streets of rubbish by March 1.

"The streets are now in exemplary order. Our militia which maintains this order is more highly respected by the population now than at any time before. This is explained by the fact that after the events, men with their 'hearts and hands in the right place' joined the home armed forces. At a

recent session of the City Council, the work of the city militia was discussed, and it was found that crimes and law-breaking incidents were considerably less in number now than during the corresponding period in former years.

"The population is being normally supplied with consumer goods, and in many respects this supply is better than last year, despite the fact that during the early days after the liquidation of the armed counter-revolution, there were many difficulties to be overcome in this respect.

"As a result of strikes, subversive activities and disorganization of industry and transport, 9,000 million forints worth of products were left unproduced. The counter-revolutionaries, besides, had looted a considerable part of the state's consumer supplies, the equipment and supplies of the trade network, and the supplies of many catering establishments.

"Since salaries at the various enterprises were paid out as usual during the whole period, there was a danger of inflation right after the liquidation of the counter-revolution, and many inhabitants of the city hastened to buy up the shops' supplies. Inflation was prevented, however, thanks to the aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries who shipped in supplies of food and consumer goods.

"Budapest shops at present are supplied with all the necessary food and consumer goods, and the city's markets are full of vegetables and other agricultural produce which are brought in by the peasants of suburban villages.

"The Budapest Council is also engaged in solving problems pertaining to the expansion and welfare of the city. A plan has already been adopted to illuminate the main streets of the city with neon lamps, to renovate shop-window dressings and advertisement signs.

"Not long ago the government of the Hungarian People's Republic adopted a decision to draw up a three-year and a ten-year plans for the development of the capital. This work has been assigned to the Budapest City Council.

"The three-year plan is the first stage of the realization of

the ten-year plan. During this period, tens of thousands of flats, many new schools, hospitals, cultural institutions, and new streets will be built; the sewerage system will be reconstructed and the supply of water and gas to the population improved.

A good part of the ten-year plan is given over to the general reconstruction of Budapest.

"Beginning with last year, the City Council's rights in planning and building in the city have been extended," the Mayor said in conclusion. "Formerly the Ministry of Construction tackled these questions, and there were misunderstandings between the Ministry and City Council. When it was decided to liquidate the Ministry of Construction and pass its functions over to the City Council, there were some who doubted the feasibility of this step. However, experience has shown the groundlessness of these doubts. At present we are planning, receiving money and materials, and building on our own. There is more order this way, and less expenses. The administrative personnel of the Ministry of Construction swallowed three per cent of the cost of the jobs done, whereas at present only one per cent goes for the upkeep of the corresponding personnel in the City Council."

* * *

Later on, we were told at the Ministry of Light Industry of the Hungarian People's Republic of the situation concerning the output of consumer goods.

It is known that the salaries of Hungarian workers and office employees have increased during the past year by 15-16 per cent, and in Hungary some two million persons receive salaries. Moreover, the Hungarian peasants' profits have also risen by several thousand million forints a year.

Consequently, the population's purchasing capacity has considerably grown throughout the country, and this, in turn, has facilitated the development of the light industry.

Now the output of products of the light industry in Hungary is somewhat higher than last year. Besides, as com-

pared with last year, export of consumer goods has been cut down and their import increased.

The volume of light industry production is steadily rising. During the second quarter, 36 per cent more articles were produced than during the first quarter of this year. The six-month plan for the light industry has been fulfilled by 106 per cent.

Here are several figures characterizing the increase in production of the main consumer goods during the second quarter of 1957 as compared with the second quarter of 1956. Ten per cent more woollen fabrics were produced; 11 per cent more knitted wear; 30 per cent more women's coats and suits; 20 per cent more footwear; 60 per cent more overalls; 25 per cent more socks and stockings, etc.

In the Ministry of Trade of the Hungarian People's Republic we learned that during the second quarter of 1957 13.4 per cent more consumer goods were sold to the population than during the second quarter of 1956.

I. POMELOV

**CONSOLIDATION OF THE FORCES OF SOCIALISM AND
CERTAIN PROBLEMS OF THE IDEOLOGICAL
STRUGGLE IN HUNGARY***

The Hungarian People's Republic is confidently continuing the construction of socialism which was interrupted by the counter-revolutionary putsch of October 1956. Not all the wounds caused by the class enemy have been healed; many difficulties still exist, but the main trend of the country's development, its progress towards socialism, is distinctly evident. The popular masses are rallying round the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (H.S.W.P.) and the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government. In the unity of the masses lies the guarantee of the successes of socialism, because the socialist system is the work of the masses themselves.

It will be remembered that in the autumn of 1956 the Hungarian reactionaries and Western imperialists talked a lot about national unity in Hungary. Their efforts to create that "unity" by overthrowing the people's democracy, restoring capitalism and whipping up race hatred proved abortive. And no other result could have been expected: their purpose was at variance with the vital interests of the working people. The progressive forces of the Hungarian nation have united for the purpose of strengthening the dictatorship of

* Slightly abridged. Full text see *Kommunist*, No. 10, 1957.



The shops are well stocked



Food is plentiful in the shops of Budapest

the proletariat, which has assumed in Hungary the form of the people's democracy, basing their platform on socialism and proletarian internationalism.

A most important landmark in Hungary's development as a socialist country was the National Conference of the H.S.W.P. which was held at the end of June 1957. The resolutions of that conference contain an analysis of the internal situation and define the tasks of the Party in the political, economic and cultural fields with due account for the concrete historical situation in the country. The Party has drawn conclusions from the events of last October and November, and the experience gained at such a hard price is taken into consideration in all its work. The H.S.W.P. is organizing the masses for struggle against the remnants of the counter-revolutionary forces; it is strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, the most essential prerequisite for the building of socialism. It has prepared and is at present implementing concrete undertakings for the purpose of raising production and the living standard of the working people, continuing socialist industrialization as dictated by the specific conditions in Hungary, and the reorganization of agriculture along socialist lines, improving the state management of the national economy on the basis of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism. The Party is strengthening Hungary's alliance and friendship with all the socialist countries, and fraternal solidarity with the world labour movement.

I

It was natural that the question of the character of the events of last October and November should have become one of the main issues of the ideological and political struggle between the forces of socialism and counter-revolution in Hungary after November 4. The overwhelming majority, even among those who at first were mistaken in their appraisal of the events, realized afterwards that it was a

counter-revolutionary outburst, an armed revolt of internal reactionaries, inspired and directed by the imperialist circles of the West, financed and supported by these circles and by their propaganda. What would have become of Hungary had the enemy's scheme succeeded? The working people would have again been forced into the yoke of bourgeois and landlord exploitation. Hungary would have been converted from an independent country into a base for imperialist aggression, into a hotbed of war in the heart of Europe. A hard blow would have been dealt to the general cause of social progress and peace. But this scheme has failed. All the progressive forces of the new Hungary joined in repulsing the mortal danger which threatened her. They had the political and economic support of the peoples of the socialist countries and the deep sympathies of the world revolutionary movement. The suppression of the revolt spelled defeat for the bourgeois nationalist counter-revolution and for international imperialism; it was a victory for people's democratic Hungary and for the camp of socialism as a whole.

That was the class essence of the Hungarian events of last October and November. All efforts to obscure and distort this meaning are being made by those who had precipitated those events, by the internal and external enemies of the working people. They do not want to abandon the plans for the restoration of capitalism in Hungary, and they are now doing their utmost to prove that the Hungarian people themselves wanted to destroy their socialist state and to espouse the "Western way of life." As the National Conference of the H.S.W.P. has noted in its resolution, the internal counter-revolutionary forces have not been completely destroyed. Directed and encouraged by Western imperialists, these forces are trying to foster ideological and political confusion, to worm their way into the Party, into the state administration, into cultural bodies and mass organizations. The provocative attempts (unsuccessful though they are) of disturbing Hungary's peaceful life, of setting the people against the Hungarian Government, of rousing hatred

among them against the U.S.S.R., against the whole community of socialist countries, have been intensified of late. The pretext for this hullabaloo was supplied by the report published in the middle of June by the illegitimate "United Nations Committee" on the Hungarian question. Operating with the report fabricated in the State Department lobbies out of perjured evidence given by arrant counter-revolutionaries and renegades such as Béla Király, József Kővágó and Anna Kethly, the reactionary press and radio in the West are trying to persuade the world that the events of last October and November in Hungary originated "spontaneously," that they were a "people's movement," and they are doing everything to whip up the anti-Soviet propaganda campaign.

All the reactionary forces and many Right-wing socialist leaders have joined in the smearing campaign. The Congress of the Socialist International, which met in Vienna on July 2-6, heard a report on the "Hungarian question" delivered by the same Anna Kethly. She pictured the events of last October and November as a "revolution." Kethly tried to defame the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the ways and means of solving contemporary problems of social development, and spiced her report with a heavy dose of anti-Soviet slander. The congress swallowed the bait of the author of the report and other reactionary émigré representatives. The resolution passed by this congress interprets the events of last October and November in a spirit which is favourable to the foes of the cause of social progress and peace, and makes hostile sallies against the socialist countries.

What does all this indicate? It indicates that the lie about the mythical revolution in Hungary and about "Soviet intervention" was adopted by the imperialist bourgeoisie as a weapon in its ideological struggle against the socialist camp and its leading force, the U.S.S.R., against the world communist movement, and against the efforts to ease international tension. The uproar around the non-existent "Hun-

garian question" was raised by the imperialist circles of the Western Powers for the purposes of diverting the attention of the world public from their aggressive acts in the Middle East, of impeding the efforts to ease international tension and to solve the most burning and urgent problem of our time, the problem of disarmament, and other urgent international problems.

A great number of facts and documents have brought out in relief the role played by the internal reaction and international imperialism in organizing the armed revolt. The Western imperialist circles, which for many years had been conducting subversive activities against the new Hungary, were the main accomplices and leaders of the counter-revolution. There is evidence to show that these circles, the American intelligence service and "The Crusade for Liberty" in the first place, were the organizers of the revolt; they financed and supported the Hungarian counter-revolution. Incidentally, statements made by American political leaders and intelligence agents themselves, Allan Dulles for example, and by journalists, indicate that the armed revolt in Hungary was prepared in advance in all its details. One of the reasons for the Hungarian events were the mistakes made in the process of socialist construction by the former leadership of the Party, mistakes which roused dissatisfaction among a section of the people. The counter-revolutionaries took advantage of that dissatisfaction to their own ends in their attempt to restore the old regime, against the interests of the people.

A sinister role was played in stimulating the counter-revolution by the treacherous revisionist faction of Imre Nagy and Losonczy. It disorganized the ranks of the Party, in consequence of which the working class was left without political leadership. It is wrongly assumed that Imre Nagy and the members of his group were Communists, but that they proved helpless and were "dragged by the events" down into the quagmire of counter-revolution. The conduct of Nagy and of other members of his faction during the revolt

showed that they had deserted to the camp of the enemy. At its Plenary Meeting in February 1957, the Central Committee of the H.S.W.P. emphasized that the group of Imre Nagy played the part of vanguard of the counter-revolution before October 23, 1956; during the revolt it did its utmost to assist in the achievement of the objects of the imperialists and the internal reactionaries; this group persisted in its defence of the cause of the counter-revolution even after the turn of events, i.e., after November 4.

The Hungarian events connected with the correlation between classes and with the class struggle, were complex and, as indicated, they had many underlying causes. Moreover, the treacherous tactics of the class enemy should not be discounted. Socialism has become so deeply planted in the consciousness of the masses that the counter-revolutionaries were careful to mask their intentions of restoring the bourgeois regime with socialist slogans, with slogans of national independence and equality. The documents published by the counter-revolutionaries at first referred mainly to the necessity of rectifying the "mistakes" of the old leadership, to "democratization" and "decentralization," to equality and friendship with the Soviet Union. In reality, however, the counter-revolutionaries were capturing the key positions in order to overthrow the people's government, removing Communists from all offices, seizing the headquarters of Party Committees and murdering Party workers, destroying monuments to Soviet soldiers, burning books of progressive authors. As the revolt gained headway, the demands and slogans of the counter-revolutionaries changed, shifting more and more to the Right.

It is interesting to note that the American prompters of the rebels dictated to them a tactics of gradual measures, warning against haste in disclosing the real aims of the armed revolt. True, they were impatient to see their objectives attained. The instigators in the West pushed events forward, suggesting to the rebels the various measures which were then carried out. For example, Radio "Free Europe,"

from which many instructions were transmitted to the rebels, suggested that the portfolio of the Defence Minister be given to the "freedom fighters." And the Nagy Government obediently appointed one of those "fighters," the traitor Pal Maleter, to the post of Defence Minister. At the same time the inspirers of the revolt feared lest the unduly great zeal of the counter-revolutionaries and Nagy open the eyes of the people to their real schemes.

This duplicity in the tactics of the imperialists is reflected, for example, in the facts mentioned in the December 27, 1956 issue of the American magazine *Reporter* by its correspondent Edmund Taylor. When Nagy denounced the Warsaw Treaty, the American chargé d'affaires, wrote Taylor, had to pay a personal visit to Imre Nagy and urged him to make a show of at least some distrust towards the West. "My informer," the correspondent went on to say, "did not say outright that we (U.S.A.—I.P.) advised Imre Nagy to abrogate the Warsaw pact, but no other conclusion is suggested by the above. Our appeal to Imre Nagy that he should not do away with communism with undue haste was quite correct under the circumstances. The trouble was that it was a belated advice on our part; however, this advice was annulled by other official and unofficial acts of the U.S.A. which brought greater pressure to bear upon Hungary in favour of a complete and immediate break with communism." (Retranslated from the Russian.)

The schemes of the counter-revolution were disclosed with cynical frankness in the speech broadcast by Cardinal Mindszenty on November 3. The inspirers of the revolt did not wish to hurry with their demand for the return of factories, mines and estates to their former owners, although these owners, or their representatives, had reappeared in many places in the last days of October. The enemies knew that the restoration of capitalism would inevitably follow if the attempt to overthrow the rule of the working class were successful. And Mindszenty, to whom the overthrow of socialism was a foregone conclusion, made it clear that what

the counter-revolutionaries wanted was the restoration of the old regime of private property. It is worth noting here that in the opinion of the counter-revolutionaries and of the bourgeois propaganda, the cardinal's speech was very damaging to "their cause."

It was a clever scheme: not to disclose the plans of the counter-revolution at once, but to camouflage its aims by socialist, democratic and national slogans in order to win support among the masses. People were urged to join that "remarkable movement," to fight in the ranks of the great "national heroes." "Free Europe" gave wide publicity to the doings in Hungary, boosting them as a "wonderful revolution," without precedent in the world. The same appraisal of the events was advocated also by the Imre Nagy-Losonczy group which had its representatives in the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party, and in the government.

It should be noted that on the night of October 23 the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party appraised correctly the events which had already begun and prepared a militant programme; its realization would have arrested the spread of the revolt. Speaking at the National Conference of the H.S.W.P., János Kádár said that the programme in question "was based on the premise that all those who were attacking the institutes of the Hungarian People's Republic with arms in hand were counter-revolutionaries that should be destroyed. It was necessary to solidify the forces, mobilize the army and the armed forces of the state security organs, to arm the workers. It was necessary to appeal to the Soviet Union, and, should the need for that arise (inasmuch as it was evident that we were faced by a counter-revolution prepared not only from within) ask for its military assistance."

Imre Nagy expressed his agreement with the decision of the Central Committee. But, as subsequent developments have shown, that was just a tactical manoeuvre, a bid for the office of prime minister and for membership in the

Political Bureau of the Central Committee. Nagy did gain that object: on the night of October 23, he and his confederates received important posts. Their position strengthened, Imre Nagy and Losonczy began immediately to work against the resolution of the Central Committee for which they themselves had voted. Facts mentioned by Hungarian comrades in their speeches, in particular, by Gyula Kallai, Secretary of the Central Committee of the H.S.W.P., in his lectures, reveal that already at the October 26 meeting of the Central Committee, the Nagy group demanded that the developing events be qualified as "a great national democratic movement." That importunate demand was rejected. But Nagy and his supporters did not abandon their attempts. In his speech broadcast on October 28, Nagy said: "The government rejects the view that the present powerful people's movement is allegedly a counter-revolution." In the morning of the same day yielding to pressure from the Nagy-Losonczy group, the *Szabad Nép*, newspaper of the Central Committee of the H.W.P.P., qualified the events of those days a "national democratic movement," a view supported by the Central Committee in its resolution. The putsch was thus given legal sanction, and the counter-revolution could go on acting openly. In the days that followed, the Nagy group ceaselessly boosted the putsch as a "revolution," calling for its development, etc.

This caused great confusion in the ranks of the workers and Communists; it was a most downright betrayal of the defenders of the people's government and of the socialist achievements of the people. They were branded as counter-revolutionaries, and those who had raised their hand against the people's government and its achievements were called revolutionaries and heroes. Those events were appraised as a "people's movement" in order to accuse the Communists who were defending the people's democratic system of "criminal armed action" against the "revolution," and to unleash White terror. The state security authorities, whose soldiers and officers fought gallantly against the counter-revolutionaries,

were dissolved by the Imre Nagy Government. He ordered a "general ceasefire," which in practice amounted to ending the resistance to the rebels, while the latter, far from laying down arms, stiffened their armed struggle, continuing their persecution and murder of Communists.

The counter-revolutionaries and Western bourgeois propaganda have been and are speculating on the "demonstration" of October 23 which initiated the Hungarian events, alleging that it was a peaceful demonstration which had spontaneously developed into a popular uprising. But the version about the "peaceful demonstration" has nothing in common with the real course of events. Numerous facts show that the demonstration of October 23, appeals for which were contained in seditious leaflets, was prepared by the counter-revolutionaries. Naturally, many people who took part in it did not know that it was organized by the enemy; they did not know that armed squads formed by the enemy for the object of attacking the state and its institutions would come out into the streets side by side with peaceful, unarmed civilians. It will be in place here to recount the story told by A.P., a school-teacher who participated in that demonstration: "On the night of October 23," said she, "I too was in front of the radio centre building (it was there that the counter-revolutionaries started their armed struggle—*I.P.*). What did I want? It is hard to answer that in one sentence. I was often present at the discussions in the Petöfi Club. And it was my desire to see that mistakes be rectified that led me there, to the radio building. I shall never forget that night. At daybreak I returned home, disappointed, deceived and helpless.... I walked along the deserted embankment of the Danube, my head echoing as it were with the noise ... of shooting; I literally felt that I was choking with the bitter smoke of the burnt Red flags. ... No, that was not what I wanted!" (*Nepszabadsag*, March 5, 1957.) And there were many such deceived and misled people.

Had there been no preparations, how could a "peaceful demonstration" develop instantaneously into an armed attack?

Many eyewitnesses, some bourgeois press correspondents included, ask the logical question: how did it come about that "peaceful marchers" found themselves in the possession of abundant supplies of armaments, transportation and other means? That the rebels had a plan prepared in advance, and beforehand distributed their forces, is indicated also by the fact that they simultaneously attacked the key positions of the capital: the radio centre building, the telephone exchange, printshops and many public buildings, munition dumps and railway stations; some of the armed groups of rebels who raided the radio centre, Party Committee headquarters and took part in the murder of defenders of the people's democratic regime have been exposed and will be tried by courts. No, what was set going on October 23 was not a "spontaneous movement"; on the contrary, the enemy was well prepared and used the demonstration he himself had organized for an armed attack.

Or take the following fact. Immediately after the beginning of those events, "revolutionary" and "national" committees sprang into existence in many cities, districts and villages; no one elected them. These committees, formed somewhere behind the scenes, over the heads of the masses, were composed of reactionaries, fascists and other dregs of the past. Dudas, an agent provocateur, in his youth who took part in the counter-revolutionary conspiracy in 1946, headed the "revolutionary national committee." The capital's "national committee," which captured the building of the Budapest Council, was composed of representatives of the bourgeois and Horthyist parties, two from each; two "Communists" were included in the committee in order to camouflage its counter-revolutionary nature. The committee decided immediately to dissolve the legitimate Executive Committee of the Budapest Council, to restore the burgomaster's office and to appoint to that office the reactionary József Kővágó and the Right Social-Democrat Peter Bechtler, vice-burgomaster. All the decisions of the capital's "National Committee" were of an anti-socialist character.

These and all the other facts were brought by the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party to the attention of the working people whose eyes were opened to their real meaning. The Party's appraisal of the events which had taken place in the autumn of 1956 has found deep understanding among the masses. They now correctly appraise the events of last October and November and of the situation in the country at that time. A definite change has taken place in the consciousness of those sections of intellectuals and students where the influence of the counter-revolution seemed strong at one time. The deeper the people's understanding of those events, the more do they close their ranks around the Party and the Government in order to strengthen the people's democratic state.

II

In order to bring out the counter-revolutionary character of the Hungarian events in still greater relief, it is also necessary to deal with the nature of the forces behind them. The political spokesmen and ideologists of imperialism, the authors of the report of the "United Nations Committee" on the "Hungarian question" included, are trying to assure the world that the "Hungarian people" themselves had risen and started the armed struggle. But that is just a fiction.

Any major event in social life, and, in particular, the Hungarian events of last October and November, can be explained correctly only when account is taken of the decisive factor of the class struggle which takes place in the countries which are in the process of transition to socialism, and in the international arena. At the moment in question, Hungary was the arena of the most bitter clash between antagonistic class forces. The main forces of the counter-revolutionary revolt were the former factory-owners and landlords, wholesale traders, kulaks, Horthy officers, gendarmes and high officials. It is not surprising in the least that the impression of mass action was created. To begin with, it should be remem-

bered, that unlike some other countries, the Soviet Union for example, Hungary did not pass through a civil war in which the main cadres of the old ruling classes usually perish. Deprived of political power and of their rights to the factories and estates, most of the Hungarian bourgeois and landlords remained in Hungary; the Horthy officers, gendarmes, high officials and other representatives of the old regime had either gone into hiding or feigned resignation to the new regime. And there are tens of thousands of these people in the Hungarian Republic.

The Hungarian bourgeoisie, which had succeeded in crushing the dictatorship of the proletariat in 1919 with the aid of the Western imperialists, was hoping for a chance of repeating that experiment. Especially, since many of the old reactionary officials remained in the state apparatus after 1945. The former ruling classes had their illegal organizations; instructors and organizers were constantly smuggled in from the American camps in Western Germany. A certain slackening of the dictatorship of the proletariat was taken advantage of by the deposed exploiters for preparing and unleashing a revolt. They found reinforcements among ordinary criminals: about 13,000 of them were released from prison. Detachments of Hungarian reactionary émigrés formed in the West hurried across the Austrian border which was obligingly opened to them, to the assistance of the rebels. Generous assistance to the rebels was streaming in from the West in those days in the shape of men, armaments and munitions. In their leaflets, circulated illegally after November 4, the Hungarian reactionaries wrote that the United States and other Western Powers had "failed them," since the promised armed forces had not come.

It is beyond doubt that the enemies did succeed, with the assistance of the treacherous group of Imre Nagy, in recruiting men from various sections of the people for the counter-revolutionary outburst. "Nationalistic and revisionist movement, and the mistakes made by the old leadership," declared the National Conference of the H.S.W.P. in its resolution,

"resulted in a large section of the urban petty bourgeoisie and a considerable section of the intellectuals losing touch with the working class: some had taken a step backward while others went over to the bourgeois restoration forces." In order to properly appraise this fact it should be remembered that over a period of 25 years Horthy's fascist regime had been energetically indoctrinating the people with the spirit of nationalism, and chauvinism. It would also be wrong to overlook the fact that part of the Hungarian intellectuals have a bourgeois or petty-bourgeois world outlook. And many of the students, who had no knowledge of life under the Horthy regime, were misled. The bourgeoisie everywhere strives to corrupt and confuse the young generation which has not been hardened by experience in the ideological and political struggle. And since the standard of the political and Marxist-Leninist education in the colleges of Hungary was low, the enemies and their revisionist accomplices succeeded in bringing some of the students under their influence. The youth was corrupted by nationalist propaganda, flattered by calling it the "conscience," "intellect" and "ruler of the destinies" of the nation, etc.

But could the participation of persons from the midst of the people serve as a basis for qualifying this putsch as a "revolution," or a "people's uprising"? Decidedly, not. During the French bourgeois revolution part of the peasants (Vandeans) fought on the side of the king. But only a reactionary would interpret that fact as an uprising of the French people against the republic. It is also known that there were workers in the troops of General Galliffet, executioner of the Paris Communards. But it would never occur to anyone, save hypocrites, to deny the fact that Galliffet's troops fought against a progressive cause, against the people.

There were workers also among the rebels. But what sort of workers fell for the bait of the counter-revolutionaries? The point is that the working class in Hungary had undergone great changes during the years of the socialist revolution. The most class-conscious and steeled workers were called

upon to work in party and government offices, in the economic and state security organs. At the same time, the working class had grown numerically as the result of the rapid progress of industry. And who swelled its ranks? Members of the petty-bourgeois sections of the population and of the former ruling classes. According to statistical data published in the Hungarian press, about 200,000 people engaged in agriculture, 75,000 employed in small industrial enterprises and 110,000 who had never worked before, joined the ranks of the factory and building workers in 1949-1954. According to information available concerning 93,000 workers at the beginning of 1953, 37.2 per cent of their number were not workers in 1949. Most of the people from the ruling classes who donned overalls were still infected by the mentality of private property owners. They had not changed in a few years. And it was not at all surprising that at a time of the sharpening of the class struggle, people who had gone to work only owing to the fall of the system under which they enjoyed the fruits of life should have deserted to the side of the counter-revolution; during the revolt they spoke "on behalf of the workers," and ruled the roost in many workers' councils.

Furthermore, there are certain elements in the working class with a very limited political vision, workers infected by bourgeois sentiments and corrupted by the class-collaboration practices of the Right Social-Democracy; various prejudices and alien ideas, including anarcho-syndicalist views, are still current among a section of the Hungarian workers. It is not difficult to mislead some of these workers, and many of them yielded to the onslaught of enemy propaganda; some workers resented the mistakes made in the process of socialist construction; they wanted these mistakes to be expediently corrected, but they could not grasp the essence of the events taking place and were drawn into the enemy's camp.

But to draw the sign of equality between certain elements and groups of workers who supported the revolt to one or another degree, and the Hungarian working class as a whole

is to commit slander. No, the Hungarian working class was not against the people's democracy. This is the fundamental fact, and it remains incontrovertible notwithstanding the strikes which had taken place in Hungary after November 4. Tools were laid down not on the initiative of the workers. Those strikes were declared by the so-called territorial and central workers' councils. Those strikes were used by the counter-revolution as a weapon against the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government. By advancing as the main demand in those strikes the recognition of the territorial and central workers' councils as organizations invested with government rights the counter-revolutionaries wanted to create dual power in order to capture all power later.

It would be a crying distortion of the facts to judge the working class by the position adopted, for example, by the counter-revolutionary "Central Workers' Council" of Budapest which included such agents of reaction as Sándor Racz and Sándor Bali who maintained contact with Radio "Free Europe," and obligingly fulfilled all its instructions, and the provocateur Sebestjen, military commandant in one of Babay's factories under the Horthy regime. Backward workers were bribed also by the payment of high strike benefits. Most of the workers wanted to but could not go to work: armed gangs paralyzed transport in Budapest and in a number of other parts of the country, and kept the workers out of the factories by terror, threatening to shoot everyone who would report to work. Production was resumed as soon as order was restored and the workers were free to do as they pleased.

Nor did the appeal of the counter-revolution find any response among the working peasants who had received land from the people's government and were incomparably better off than before. During the counter-revolutionary revolt the peasants continued to work and completed their autumn sowing in good time. The peasants gave a fitting rebuff to the kulaks; they ousted the counter-revolutionary agents who urged them to join the "uprising," and drove back the landlords who reappeared in the villages. And since the

working class, i.e., the majority of the workers, the class-conscious members of the working class, and the working peasants, did not take part in the revolt, how is it possible to speak of a "popular uprising"?

A question asked by some authors in other countries is: why did not the workers and all the working people take a determined stand against the counter-revolution, why were they unable to nip the armed putsch in the bud, or prevent it from spreading? This is explained by the lack of leadership and the great confusion caused among the masses by the Nagy-Losonczy group. It is a known fact that a fortress is most easily captured from within. And that was the tactics of this group which broke the unity of the Party and its Central Committee by operating within the Central Committee and other Party organs, undermined its fighting capacity and urged the masses to struggle not against but on the side of the rebels, to join the "national democratic movement." In spite of this, the overwhelming majority of the working people remained loyal to the people's democratic system. Many examples of heroism and self-sacrifice were displayed by Communists and non-Party workers in the defence of the people's government and of their socialist gains. Many workers, soldiers and officers of the state security organs defied the treacherous line of the Imre Nagy group and continued the armed struggle against the rebels. But the masses of the working class were not in the position to act as an organized force, because while the composition of the government, the demands and programmes of the counter-revolutionaries were reshuffled in incredibly quick succession, and misleading, demagogic slogans were advanced, the masses were left without leadership.

At the time when the revisionists were breaking up the party of the working class, counter-revolution was organizing its forces. A crop of some twenty parties came into being, according to available data: the Catholic People's Party, Democratic People's Party, Christian Front, Christian Youth Party, and other bourgeois and Horthyist parties.

The Hungarian House Owner's Union, Central Merchant's Union and other organizations were born. Representatives of some of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties were included in the government by Imre Nagy in line with his idea of a "wide coalition."

And so, the counter-revolutionaries had their own parties, their "national" and "revolutionary" committees which were planted everywhere, while the working class was actually left without its own party, without a plan of action, and a section of the masses was completely confused by the propaganda conducted by Nagy's group. The counter-revolutionaries received extensive support from imperialist states and from the government of Nagy, the "Communist," the government which was duty-bound to defend the people's democratic system. The counter-revolutionaries were armed, while the Communists, the workers were unarmed. At the beginning of the counter-revolutionary events, the party organizations and the workers demanded arms, but the supporters of the Nagy group hindered the arming of the working class and sabotaged the decision of the Central Committee of the Party on this question. Traitors of the type of Pal Maleter, Béla Király and their ilk were placed in command of the army. Kopacsi, the Budapest police chief, also betrayed the people's republic, Nagy's supporters and their accomplices interfered with the operations of the army units and police.

All this shows that the situation was extremely critical at the moment when the János Kádár Government was formed. As the result of the attack undertaken by the combined forces of internal reaction and international imperialism, Hungary found herself at the brink of a chasm; fascist tyranny and terror reigned. It was a moment when days, and even hours could decide everything. But the internal revolutionary and patriotic forces alone could not have coped at that moment with the task of crushing the counter-revolution and strengthening the cause of peace. At that crucial moment, the Soviet Union, responding to the ap-

peal of the Hungarian Government and prompted by its feeling of fraternal solidarity, of proletarian internationalism, rendered all necessary assistance to socialist Hungary. In its message to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., the State Assembly of the Hungarian People's Republic wrote on May 9: "We express our deep gratitude to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to the Government of the Soviet Union, to all the Soviet people for the unselfish fraternal assistance given to us in suppressing the counter-revolution, preserving our socialist gains, defending our freedom and independence."

The Hungarian Government appealed for assistance to the Soviet troops in full keeping with the laws of Hungary and with international law. The legal foundation of the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government is the sovereignty of the Hungarian people. Conscious of its responsibility to the country, the Hungarian Government, formed in full accord with the laws of that country, had the right to call on the Soviet troops for assistance. That was its right also under the Warsaw Treaty.

The facts make it clear beyond any doubt that in the period between October 23 and November 4, as justifiably emphasized by János Kádár at the National Conference of the H.S.W.P., "the socialist revolutionary forces of Hungary prevailed over the bourgeois counter-revolutionary forces." But only after the political party of the Hungarian working class, the H.S.W.P., which was reorganized during the armed struggle, during the political and ideological struggle against the counter-revolution, assumed leadership of the people, only then could the masses demonstrate and they really did demonstrate their strength. Its membership was composed mainly of former members of the H.W.P.P. Steadfast Communists, they defied the terror and the dangers which the calling of a Communist entailed at that time, carried through the reorganization of the party in order to assume the leadership of the masses and shoulder the hard task of strengthening the people's democratic system.

All the enemies of the working people offered desperate resistance to the steps taken to strengthen the Party. Communists were persecuted and killed. The counter-revolutionary "workers' councils" prohibited the formation of Party organizations in the factories, and dismissed workers who joined the Party. But the will and persistence of the advanced representatives of the working class proved stronger than the resistance of the class enemies. Party organizations were formed in the factories, offices, and colleges, and the H.S.W.P. now has a membership of about 350,000.

III

While struggling against dogmatism and sectarianism, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is eradicating at the same time the revisionist heritage. Revisionism was born in Hungary before 1956. As far back as in 1953-55, Nagy, who was then a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the H.W.P.P. and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the H.P.R., preached Right-wing opportunist, anti-Party ideas and tried to carry them into practice. Already at that time he resorted to factional struggle. It was for this reason that he was removed in 1955 from all the offices for which he was recommended earlier by the Party. That was unquestionably a correct decision, but it was not attended by a wide campaign for the ideological exposure of Nagy's anti-Marxist views, of their alien class substance. An exposure like that was essential in order to eradicate those pernicious views, to reinforce the uncompromising attitude of the Communists to all and sundry departures from Marxism-Leninism.

The influence of the opportunist views was all the more dangerous since the Nagy clique cloaked them in a national robe. The supporters of that clique posed as patriots, as champions of national independence and equality. Actually, however, there was not one iota of patriotism in their views and in their policy. Had they really been interested

in the destiny of their country, they would have done everything to strengthen its friendship and cooperation with the states of the socialist camp. But Nagy and his supporters wanted to sever Hungary from this camp. They are not patriots, but typical national-opportunists.

They were especially vociferating about Hungary's specific national features, claiming that those features were not taken into consideration in the construction of socialism. No one denies the fact that Hungary has many peculiarities and that somewhat inadequate consideration was given to them in the past in deciding concrete questions of socialist construction, which was undoubtedly incorrect. But as subsequent developments have shown, the Hungarian national-opportunists were least of all interested in the historic background and the specific national features of their country; they had something else in mind.

National-opportunism in Hungary was expressed in the attempts to cast overboard the main principles of the political, economic and ideological life of a socialist country, on the pretext of taking into account the "specific features." The thesis was advanced, for example, that "Hungarian nature" as such rather than the laws of social development should "become the programme" of socialist construction. National-opportunist propaganda was conducted at first against "Stalinism," "for real Leninism," and then against Marxism-Leninism in general, and against all that has been achieved in Hungary thanks to this theory, in particular. Attacks were directed primarily against the dictatorship of the proletariat. Seeking to make capital on the mistakes of the past, the opportunists invented a despicable fable alleging that in the 12 years the Hungarian working class had shown that it was incapable of "leading the people"; they also claimed that the class struggle could not intensify in Hungary and that talk about the class struggle was merely dividing the forces of the nation. Not the working class and its political party, but "only the intellectuals could lead the nation" in the "atomic era," prated the national-opportu-

nists. They denied the need for a centralized planned management of economy, levelling their criticism especially at the policy of strengthening the friendship of the Hungarian People's Republic with the U.S.S.R. and other countries of the socialist camp.

Internationalism was interpreted by the Imre Nagy group solely in the spirit of petty-bourgeois nationalism: internationalism was limited to the recognition of the equality of nations, moreover, recognition in words only, with national egotism left intact. But proletarian internationalism, which confirms the need for real equality of the peoples, means, as Lenin emphasized, the inseparable blend of the interests of the proletarian struggle in one country with the interests of this struggle on a world-wide scale, readiness on the part of the nation which has won victory over the bourgeoisie to make the greatest national sacrifices in the name of the general victory of socialism. However, the sole purpose of all that prating of the Nagy group about defending Hungary's equality was to misrepresent the essence of the Soviet-Hungarian relations, and to sow hostility towards the U.S.S.R.

The practice of four decades shows that the Soviet Union has always been and still is true to the Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism, discharging its duty in accordance with the principle of international solidarity. Ever since the People's Democracies appeared, the U.S.S.R. has done everything to foil the attempts of international imperialism to interfere in the internal affairs of these countries, and it has played the decisive role in assuring peaceful conditions for their progress towards socialism. As an economically more advanced country, the U.S.S.R. has been rendering all possible assistance to the People's Democracies.

The spirit of proletarian internationalism, equality and fraternal friendship permeates also the policy of the U.S.S.R. in relation to Hungary. The pratings of the nationalists about "unequal" relations between Hungary and the U.S.S.R. were only designed to break the friendship be-

tween Hungary and the U.S.S.R., to sever Hungary from the community of socialist countries. We have it directly from the Hungarian comrades, that even if some shortcomings did occur in the Soviet-Hungarian relations in the past, these relations in general were based on equality. The U.S.S.R. and the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary under the provisions of the Warsaw Treaty, have never done anything that would offend her national independence and sovereignty, on the contrary, they did their best to sustain and defend the independence of the Hungarian people

For a long period of time the nationalists were especially persistent in harping away on the subject that the economic relations with the U.S.S.R. were allegedly a disadvantage to Hungary, causing losses to her, and kept on calculating the exports from Hungary to the U.S.S.R., evading any mention of the goods delivered from the U.S.S.R. to Hungary. And yet it would have been enough to publish the real facts about Soviet-Hungarian trade and other relations to scatter all the nationalist inventions into thin air. That unfortunately was not done by the former leadership of the H.P.R. That was done only after the revolt had been crushed. Facts and figures cited by the Hungarian leaders in their speeches at workers' meetings and in the press made clear to the people the essence of the relations between Hungary and the U.S.S.R. based on equality and friendship. Refuting the counter-revolutionary demagoguery, the leaders of the H.P.R. brought to the notice of the people the fact that their country has been buying from the U.S.S.R. every year considerable amounts of ores, timber, non-ferrous metals, grain, machinery, important chemicals, purchasing materials which it would not be able to buy in the capitalist countries.

Immediately before October 23, and during the events that followed, the nationalist propaganda was directed not only against the U.S.S.R. but also against the other countries of the socialist camp. It tried to fan nationalist and chauvinistic passions to the utmost, to set the Hungarian

people against the peoples of the neighbouring countries. Old slogans of the Hungarian chauvinists were revived. The orgy of nationalism acquired monstrous proportions, especially during the revolt.

The events have shown that taken in their entirety the ideas preached by the Nagy group constituted a programme for the restoration of capitalism and for bringing Hungary into the orbit of international imperialism. When Nagy found himself at the head of the government, he tried to carry this programme into practice by announcing Hungary's disassociation from the Warsaw Treaty and her "neutrality"; according to a report published in the *Társadalmi Szemle* (No. 1, 1957), at its meeting on November 2, 1956, the cabinet resolved to send a government delegation with Imre Nagy at the head to London and New York in order to ask the American and British imperialists to assist by sending their troops which would operate under the United Nations flag. Here it will be necessary to say a few words about "neutrality." The demand for "neutrality" was intended to convert Hungary into a country of the type of Switzerland or Austria, i.e., to throw the H.P.R. back to capitalism.

Any radical reorganization of social life, the creation of a qualitatively new social system is a complex process; it is not a smooth asphalted road along which one could drive on unhindered from success to success. Miscalculations and shortcomings are possible on the road to socialism, although, of course, everything should be done to avoid them in the interest of the cause. In Hungary too, the construction of socialism was not free from mistakes, and some of them were unfortunately very grave ones. The old leadership of the Party and the Government, in which a decisive role was played by Matyas Rákosi and Erno Gerő, propelled the country along the socialist course, tried to strengthen the workers' and peasants' state and to act in the spirit of the principles of proletarian internationalism. But that leadership committed grave errors in a number of questions. It

underestimated the need for strengthening the positions of the working class, for raising its revolutionary vigilance with regard to the intrigues of the class enemy, and the dictatorship of the proletariat was not adequately firm in its action against the reaction. On the other hand, offences were committed against revolutionary law. The principles of socialist democracy were not carried consistently into practice. Mistakes were also made in the economic policy.

Numerous materials published in the Hungarian Party press indicate that the mistakes in the work of the old Party leadership began to occur along with its growing tendency to underestimate contact with the masses, its tendency towards sectarianism and bureaucracy. That tendency was connected with the departure from the Leninist principles of party life and party leadership. Rákosi had committed serious breaches of the principle of collective leadership in adopting decisions on questions; he belittled the role of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and of the Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee of the H.W.P.P., and tolerated limitations of democracy within the Party. He did little to win the support of the masses, to secure their conscious and active cooperation in the undertakings planned by the Party and the Government. Persuasion, the basic method of leadership of the masses, was pushed into the background, while the pernicious method of arm-chair leadership became prevalent. Red-tape became widespread in the state apparatus.

And yet, when the road traversed by the new Hungary is reviewed, the mistakes committed cannot obscure the main fact that she was moving towards socialism. "The consequences of these mistakes," observed János Kádár, "were felt in various fields of government and public life. They were not small mistakes, but, in justice, it should be said that they pale into the background compared with the achievements of socialist construction. It may boldly be said that the successes made in the 12 years after 1945 amounted to very great historical progress for the Hunga-

rian people, constituting the first major and successful stage of socialist construction."

Under the circumstances, when the main trend of the country's development was socialist and the policy of the leading party, the Party of Communists, was basically correct, there was every possibility for correcting the mistakes. Hungary's experience shows again how important it is to disclose and eliminate in good time any mistakes and shortcomings in the work, before they could become dangerous to the cause of the working class. Those who see the main reason for the Hungarian events in the mistakes of the old leadership are wrong, although those mistakes did unquestionably play a definite role; those events, as I have already said, were an expression of the sharp struggle conducted against the people's democratic system by the exploiting classes removed from leadership and their servitors in alliance with the foreign imperialists. The class struggle is inevitable as an objective natural factor of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. It stands to reason, however, that gross mistakes, moreover mistakes not corrected in good time, can impede the upbuilding of new society, weaken the Party's contacts with the masses, weaken the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a whole, and the class enemies of the working people lose no time in taking advantage of this. A most essential condition for evading such a turn of events is the development of criticism and self-criticism, awareness of the needs and requirements of the masses, and greater contact with the masses.

It should be mentioned that as far back as in June 1953 the Central Committee of the Party disclosed the mistakes in the work of the Party and recommended measures for their elimination. But, as noted at the National Conference of the H.S.W.P., two mistakes were brought out in the process of the realization of this task. The first was the exceptionally important role allocated to Imre Nagy, while his object was to weaken the Party and the people's government. The second lay in the fact that "some comrades

headed by Rákosi were entirely incapable or could not break away from their old mistakes in time and to a proper degree."

And since the leadership headed by Rákosi was too slow in rectifying mistakes, the revisionist, nationalistic Nagy-Loшонczi group was demagogically using the weapon of criticism for shattering the dictatorship of the proletariat, for undermining the authority of the Party and misleading the masses.

A critical analysis of the past or current practical work is useful and it tends to strengthen the position of socialism, if it is thorough, if it reveals the achievements and shortcomings, the positive and negative aspects, and serves as a lesson for the future. But Nagy's supporters adopted an extremely biased approach to the appraisal of socialist construction in Hungary. Garbling the facts, they set out to prove that nothing had been gained in the years of socialist construction and that no improvement had been achieved in the people's life. The entire past period was denounced by the Nagy group as an erroneous, black, "criminal" period. While paying lip-service to socialism, this group represented the establishment of the people's democratic system under which power belongs to the working people headed by the working class as meaning nothing to the destinies of the working people. The Nagy group would even condemn to oblivion so great an achievement as the liberation of the working people from bourgeois and landlord exploitation as the result of the conversion of the means of production in industry, the railways and banks into the property of the whole people, and the expropriation of the land from the landlords and its distribution among the peasants. A great uproar was raised around the allegation that the national economy of the H.P.R. had drifted into a blind alley and that its development was almost slower than under the old regime. Actually, however, industrial output has grown in the socialist construction period by more than 200 per cent, as compared with 1938, whereas in

about 20 years under the Horthy regime, between 1919 and the end of 1938, it had barely surpassed by 30 per cent the level attained before the First World War. Hungary's national income was growing approximately six times faster than under the old regime, and in 1955 it was higher by 60 per cent than in 1949. Unemployment was banished, the living standards of the working people improved and popular consumption increased, culture and public education were advanced. But all those great achievements were ignored.

The revisionists professed support for a socialism "purged" of mistakes. But it was not the "liberation" of socialism from mistakes that Nagy and company were concerned over. In 1956, when the Party had begun to correct the mistakes, the political and economic situation in Hungary was greatly improved. The July Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Party adopted important decisions intended to eliminate existing mistakes and shortcomings; M. Rákosi was removed from the post of First Secretary of the Central Committee. The Party began to carry its resolutions into practice. And still the revisionists intensified their attacks on the Party and on the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Taking advantage of the weakness of the Party leadership, the counter-revolutionaries and Nagy's supporters penetrated to important sectors of ideological work; they were operating in particular in the Writers' Union, in the Journalists' Union, in the Petöfi circle and in some organs of the press. Using nationalistic demagoguery the counter-revolutionaries caused grave damage to public education, science and culture. The *Irodalmi Ujság* (*Literary Gazette*) became the mouthpiece of the revisionists and reactionaries. Many articles published in that newspaper did not differ from the broadcasts of "Free Europe"; in fact, the latter recast those articles back to Hungary.

A most unsightly role was played in developments at that time by many authors and journalists: they were imparting

to public opinion an anti-socialist twist, and, whether they wished it or not, found themselves in the same ranks with the reactionaries; definite groups of authors and journalists became the spokesmen of the petty-bourgeois masses which went over to the side of the counter-revolution.

Speaking of the unions of the Hungarian writers and journalists, one should bear in mind that their organizations were by no means distinguished by political and ideological homogeneity. They numbered in their ranks people of varying world outlooks and political interests. For example, the writers unquestionably have in their midst many supporters of socialism. But there also are unstable people who have not firmly accepted the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. There are even individuals who have nothing in common with socialism and the corresponding interests of the people; individuals with a bourgeois world outlook, they found the people's democratic system not to their liking. One of them boasted at the time of the revolt that in all the 12 years he had never pronounced the words "people's democracy."

Some departures were made in Hungary in the past from the important principle of Party guidance in literature, which is expressed in a determined struggle against counter-revolutionary sallies, combined with a tactful, careful and tolerant attitude towards literary trends which can keep in step with the working class. In the absence of the necessary Party influence on literature, bourgeois writers persisted in trying to swerve it to the course of opposition to the Party and the people's government. It is regretful that many writers who considered themselves supporters of socialism have also strayed from the correct road. They succumbed to the influence of the revisionist demagoguery; it seemed to them that it was most important to fight against the mythical "Stalinism" and "Rákosiism."

It became fashionable to criticize the people's system without stinting black colours. The "critics" painted everything black; they cursed the government organs, socialist

culture and socialist realism, socialist humaneness and socialist ethics. And the "criticism" was spearheaded against the Party of Communists, although those who prize the interests of socialism should have understood of course that the leadership of the Party is the basis for the stability of the people's democratic system. The enemies were deliberately attacking the Party, and the misled people sang in tune with them. The campaign against the Party acquired a most unbridled character. Those who tried to interfere with the biased interpretation of questions were ostracized and labeled as "people who are dragging back." The *Irodalmi Ujság* used the choicest swearwords and did not hesitate to slander those who dared criticize its anti-socialist articles, who tried to appraise the statements of some or other people from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism.

Discussions of social and political questions were so conducted as to mislead people rather than help in finding ways to improvement, in shaping the correct views. For example, the Petöfi circle, composed basically of a handful of people, was arranging discussions attended by hundreds and even by thousands of people. They did not trouble to hear different opinions, to weigh soberly all the pros and cons. The general tune was demagoguery, bombastic outbursts and hysteria. The forum of the circle which preached . . . "freedom of discussion" was actually closed to honest Communists and progressive writers.

Is it surprising that neither in these discussions, nor in the press, had the writers put forward any positive programme for strengthening the people's democracy? On the contrary, beginning with demands for "liberation of the creative individual from the vice," the writers sank to the demands of democracy for all, for friends and foes, freedom of speech and of the press for all, for the counter-revolutionaries and for the working people. The unprincipled discussions were pushed by the revisionists and reactionaries further and further into anti-socialist channels. Thus, in one of the discussions the writer Tibor Tardos did not simply

demand "more freedom," but called for a "new revolution." Tibor Deri also called for a struggle for "freedom of the press," and urged the audience to "be the first to act." The *Irodalmi Ujság* demanded "radical economic changes." A "Letter to a Reader" was published in the press by Tamas Acel; it was addressed to an "unnamed reader," who had allegedly written to Acel. Acel warned the readers against "believing" the authorities, saying: "Don't trust!"

What else was that but instigation? When the events got under way and the rebels were committing outrages in the streets, Gyula Hay, Zoltán Zelk and other writers who were preaching a "purified" socialism and a "real" democracy bragged: we were the ones who "gave the signal." These individuals were carried away by their irresponsibility in relation to the people so far as to urge the rebels "not to lay down arms" until victory.

Thus did some of the writers and journalists help to pave the way for the counter-revolution. Life has again shown that anyone who under the dictatorship of the proletariat seeks "freedom" from the leadership of the Party of the working class and the conduct of a political line other than the communist, will in the final analysis help the enemies of the people and sink into the mire of reaction. Some Hungarian writers have confessed that the counter-revolutionary orgy of last October and November had smashed their "illusions of absolute democracy."

It is in place to recall here that there was much talk in the "discussions" in Hungary around the allegations that the Party leadership had "suppressed everything" and was simply administrating, that there was "no democracy" in the country, no freedom of opinion, while they themselves were furiously attacking that leadership, and the ideological and political mainstays of life in the H.P.R. One gets the impression that the former leaders of the Party were to a certain degree hypnotized by the idea of "democracy for all." Many Party workers and Communists employed in work on the ideological front were demanding measures to

curb the reactionaries and their revisionist accomplices. But their voice was not heeded. Instead of appraising the past stage of socialist construction from the standpoint of principles, instead of reassuring the misled people and curbing the reactionaries, the leadership was strangely passive. No political and ideological enlightenment was conducted among the working people, nothing was done to open their eyes to the revisionist machinations, to explain questions relating to the future construction of socialism. Is it permissible to expose the interests of the people to danger only because some or other measures taken to cut short subversive activities may be slanderously interpreted as "violations" of democracy?! There is no doubt that if ideological and organizational measures had been taken to cut short the seditious campaign of the reactionaries and revisionists, the rank-and-file of the Party, and the working class would unquestionably back up those measures.

After the revolt was suppressed, many of the writers and journalists who occupied erroneous positions reconsidered their views, and they are now using their pen for active struggle for strengthening the people's democratic state, for furthering the construction of socialism, for the socialist ideology. Tens of writers and journalists have become members of the H.S.W.P. It should also be noted that the H.S.W.P. is fighting against a certain tendency to distrust the writers, journalists and intellectuals in general, against the tendency of identifying the reactionary groups of intellectuals with the intelligentsia as a whole, and it has taken steps to create favourable conditions for the creative work of the intellectuals.

* * *

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, which has inherited all that was best in the H.W.P.P., bases its policy on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and is consistently carrying this policy into practice. Thanks to that, the H.S.W.P. has been able to ensure the ideological and organ-

izational unity of its ranks, and to play a constantly greater leading role in state and public affairs. The H.S.W.P. gives its guidance to the trade unions which have about 2 million members; the trade unions have rejected the notorious "independence from the Party," a slogan advanced by the revisionist and reactionary demagogues who during the revolt captured leadership in many trade-union committees. The Communist Youth League formed in March is also conducting its activities under the leadership of the H.S.W.P. The working peasants are also uniting around the Party. They have saved many of their producers' cooperatives from the counter-revolution. Most of the cooperatives which were broken up by the gangs of rebels, have been restored by the peasants, and many new producers' cooperatives have been organized. The Party is working for the unification of all the progressive forces in the Patriotic People's Front.

Mass meetings of working people have been held throughout Hungary; meetings, noteworthy for their exceptional mass proportions and great number of speakers are taking place today. Speaking at those meetings, leaders of the Party and of the Government acquaint the working people with the policy of the people's government, with the latest economic and cultural undertakings, and answer questions. The meetings of workers and peasants declared their resolve to carry into practice the policy of the Party and of the Government. Progressive sections of the intellectuals are also giving their energetic support to this policy. Most noteworthy are the huge rallies held in Budapest. More than 100,000 people attended the four meetings held in Budapest on March 29 in connection with the results of the Hungarian-Soviet talks. The growing ideological and political unity of the working people and the slogans of socialism and internationalism were the keynotes of the May Day meeting of 200,000 people.

A most important event in the life of the Hungarian people was the session of the National Assembly of the H.P.R.

which met on May 9-10, 1957. It approved by unanimous vote the work of the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government headed by János Kádár, its policy of stabilizing the country's political and economic life, of restoring the national economy. The session has shown that the consolidation of the forces of socialism and the isolation of the reactionary groups is the most characteristic feature of public life in Hungary today.

Developments have already disproved all the claims of the counter-revolutionaries that they have the support of the people. That was the most striking feature which attracted general notice also at the time of the anniversary of the 1848 Revolution, on March 15, 1957. The internal and foreign enemies of the working people wanted to time a new sally for the national holiday of the Hungarian people, hoping to take revenge for the defeat of November 4, 1956. Their propaganda was inciting to action on March 15, day in and day out, urging "to begin all over again," and instructing to act "thoughtfully and cleverly." The so-called Hungarian revolutionary council in Western Germany which was composed of fugitive reactionaries, appealed to the Western Powers and to UNO for support to the "new Hungarian uprising" which was to begin on March 15. When March 15 came the reactionaries dared not stage any provocation. They feared the hostility of the people towards them.

The working people themselves are now sustaining law and order. In accordance with a special decree of the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic, workers' detachments composed of Communist and non-Party volunteers have been formed in the factories, at the state farms and machine and tractor stations. These armed detachments are protecting their enterprises and they stand on guard of the people's interests. "The reorganized and re-created army, border troops, police and workers' guards," declared the National Conference of the H.S.W.P. in its resolution, "constitute the united armed forces of the Hungarian Peo-

ple's Republic which are strong enough to crush any counter-revolutionary move; they are the reliable defenders of the country against the imperialist intrigues."

With the fraternal assistance of the international labour movement, of the Soviet Union and of the whole socialist camp, the people of Hungary have surmounted their main difficulties. All the government institutions and administrations, as well as revolutionary law and order have been strengthened. An atmosphere of peace and constructive labour prevails throughout the country. The national economy to which grave damage was caused by the revolt is being restored and advanced. Industrial production is being steadily stepped up. Socialist emulation is gaining momentum in the factories, and the initiative of the working people is growing. Scientific and cultural institutions, schools and colleges are functioning normally throughout the country.

NATIONAL UNION OF MINeworkERS

(Scottish Area)

REPORT ON VISIT TO HUNGARY BY SCOTTISH MINERS' DELEGATION

This delegation visited Hungary arising from a resolution passed by the branches of the Scottish Area at the time of the uprising in Hungary commencing on 23rd October, 1956, with the subsequent action taken by the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary.

The Scottish Area of the N.U.M. expressed the desire to visit Hungary to find out the facts for themselves. This request was received by the Hungarian Miners' Union and accepted in the friendliest of terms.

The delegation, consisting of John Wood, General Secretary, Alex. Edgar, Executive Committee member, Michael Cook, delegate, Nellie Jenny Gray, and Hugh Geddes, delegate, Kingshill No. 3., left Prestwick airport on Thursday, 18th April, 1957, at 11.15 a.m. and after a short break at Amsterdam, arrived in Budapest at 6.20 p.m.

We were met at the airport by Mr. Béla Blaha, President of the Hungarian Miners' Union, Odon Kirnás, Deputy Secretary of the Hungarian T.U.C., József Mundi, Secretary of the Hungarian Miners' Union, Vilmos Jólszvai, Deputy Head of the International Department of the Hungarian T.U.C., and József Kriston, Head of the Administration Department of the Hungarian Miners' Union, and István Bózsza, Member of the Presidium of the Hungarian Miners'

Union. We were then taken to the Margit-Szigete Hotel on Princess Margaret Island.

We did not hesitate to inform the trade-union officials the reasons for visit and gave them the terms of the resolution passed by our branches at the Area Delegate Conference held on 12th November, 1956. We requested that the most full and free facilities should be placed at our disposal in our investigation of the situation arising from 23rd October, 1956, and to ascertain the situation in the country as far as we could, visually and otherwise, at the time of our visit.

We expressed our appreciation for the manner in which these requests were met and have no hesitation in saying that when we were told that the fullest facilities would be provided, it was given by very sincere people.

On the Friday afternoon we had our first discussion in the Miners' Trade-Union Headquarters from 2 p.m. to 8 p.m. The representatives of the Union were:

Mr. Béla Blaha (in the chair), together with those persons already mentioned on our arrival. Also present were: Gyöngvi Varga, Secretary of the Hungarian T.U.C., Antal Sakó, Head of the Workers' Security Department of the Hungarian Miners' Union, Tibor Csokány, Head of the Department of Wages and Production, Antal Simon, Assistant Head of the Department of Wages and Production, Hungarian Miners' Union, Henrik Mrgettey, Book-keeper of the Hungarian Miners' Union, and Antal Penter, Deputy Head of the Organizational Department of the Hungarian Miners' Union.

The discussion commenced by Mr. Blaha, President, giving a lengthy résumé of the background of Hungary and its political and economic structure since 1945.

He pointed out that it was wrong for the counter-revolutionaries to say that the past twelve years had been a failure and that no positive gains had been achieved. The truth was that the three-year and five-year plans had made considerable improvements in the working and living condi-

tions of the workers. They had built more in twelve years than in 25 years under Horthy. Unemployment had been tackled, new towns built, e.g., Dunapentele, 50,000 (pop.) and a huge metallurgical works had also been built. The state of the mining industry had also improved and the delegation could ascertain all these facts as they went around.

Output of coal in 1938, however, was 9 million tons but in 1957, at the time of our visit, output had approximately trebled.

Mr. Blaha continued that in the building of socialism in Hungary and its relation to mining development and the economic structure of the country, many faults and shortcomings had been uncovered. They had overestimated their own strength, wanting a quick development, and they had over-reached themselves.

On the basis of such swift industrial development they discovered that the standard of living could not be raised as planned. They had not taken into consideration the actual strength of their economic development, but in spite of these faults, the standard of living in Hungary was higher in 1956 than in Poland, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Bulgaria.

The government, while recognizing the many faults that had arisen in the building of socialism, had taken some steps to remedy these, but they had not done sufficient.

When the demonstrations of the University students began on 23rd October, 1956, a twelve point charter was read out to the demonstrators and many of these were not unacceptable to the government. However, swift changes took place in the character of these demonstrations, e.g., the demonstrations commenced with banners flying, but one hour later the star of the Democratic People's Government was torn out, the slogans were changed and in another hour they were destroying the red flags.

Mr. Blaha and the others present at the meeting stated that proof of whether or not these demonstrations were of a spontaneous character could be judged from the fact that

on the first day strike committees were set up, some members of these having never been at the University. The radio station and Party headquarters were attacked at the same time and the trade-union representatives stated quite emphatically that counter-revolutionary forces had already taken control of these demonstrations.

On 23rd October, 1956, the demonstrators demanded that Imre Nagy should be appointed Prime Minister. On the 24th he was appointed such but in the evening of that same day the people called on him to speak. He did so at 8.30 p.m. but when he addressed them as comrades, the crowds would not allow him to speak further.

The Hungarian Miners' Union officials, Mr. Blaha, and others, continued by stating that it might be asked if all the people of Hungary were on the streets demonstrating, but the answer would be no. It was true to say, however, that a mass of 80,000 people were in the square witnessing the destruction of the statue of Stalin, but following this event, they went home.

The Hungarian Central Workers' Council and so-called workers' councils in other parts, were then set up. The government had discussions with the Hungarian Central Workers' Council but could not reach agreement. The workers' council stated that the miners did not recognize the Kádár Government but these statements were made by people who had never at any time had any connection with the miners.

It became apparent that the Central Workers' Council wished to take the power of a government.

The Scottish Miners' delegation questioned the intervention of Soviet troops and asked for the reaction of the Miners' Union officials whom we were then meeting, and the reaction in the country generally amongst the workers. They agreed that the use of Soviet troops was necessary, that they were not used to destroy the people of Hungary but were assisting to destroy counter-revolution and in so doing, were saving socialism. They also stated that 70 per

cent of the workers in Hungary now accepted the correctness of the use of Soviet troops.

We then asked whether in fact Imre Nagy had called for the intervention of Soviet troops and Mr. Jólszvai, Deputy Head of the International Department of the Hungarian T.U.C., who had been a very close friend of Imre Nagy for most of his life, replied that at a Council of Ministers on the night of 23rd October, 1956, Imre Nagy had voted for the intervention of Soviet troops but since then had denied this. Mr. Jólszvai said that he was shocked when he heard of this denial but it could be taken as a definite fact that Imre Nagy did on the night of 23rd October, vote for the intervention of Soviet troops.

Another statement made by Mr. Jólszvai was to the effect that during the demonstrations he asked a B.B.C. reporter, who had set up his microphone at the junction of Rákóczi Avenue and Grand Boulevard (in front of the National Theatre) to be allowed to make a statement to the British people. This request was refused, the B.B.C. reporter stating that he would determine which persons would be allowed to speak.

On Saturday, 20th April, 1957, we visited Dorog, a coal-mining district, 46 km. from Budapest. There, we first of all met the manager of the Coal Trust, Mr. Levardi, a mining engineer of 10 years standing and who had been manager of the Trust for four years. He was born in Dorog and said that he knew the minds of the miners.

Relating to the students' demonstrations in Budapest on 23rd October, he said that while the miners had paid attention to these demonstrations, they had taken no particular action. Proof of this was that all three shifts worked as usual until the night of 26th October. On this night three truck-loads of counter-revolutionaries arrived with arms and called upon the miners to strike. They informed the miners about the fighting taking place in Budapest and demanded that all prisoners be released. None of these counter-revolutionaries were miners.

They then took control of Dorog and threatened any who attempted to work. By this action there was instituted a two months' strike.

The so-called workers' council tried to make the strike 100 per cent effective. They destroyed a part of the railway track; they tried to terrorize the miners, but in face of all this 60 per cent of the miners were able to get to the pits and produce sufficient coal to keep the power plant running and to supply the needs of the hospitals and schools.

Following the appeal from the Prime Minister, Mr. Kádár, all the miners of Dorog took up their work and the management said that the O.M.S. at the face had now reached the pre-October level. The total volume, however, had not yet reached pre-October level.

There was a shortage of 1,000 man-power. A rearrangement of wages had taken place in two stages—wages were increased by 11.4 per cent on October 29th, and in January 1957, by another 20.6 per cent, making a total of 32 per cent in all.

During these discussions we were informed of a football match which was played on Sunday, 14th April, between a team from the mining machine-shop at Dorog and the Soviet troops. This match was played at the village of Esztergom. Another example of the relationship between the people of Dorog and the Soviet troops was when the dancing ensemble of the Soviet Army visited Hungary in February, 1957 and the demand was made that they should visit Dorog. They did so on 18th February and 3,000 people crowded into the hall and entrance of the People's Cultural Centre to see them. The hall normally holds 900 but on this occasion everyone wanted to see the dancers.

We paid a visit to a mining machine factory and the first person we spoke to was József Molnár, a foreman. He said that when the counter-revolutionaries set up the workers' council he was dismissed. When asked the reason for dis-

missal it was stated that he was unpopular with the workers. He denied this and said it was because he was a Communist. He demanded that the workers in his shop should be heard, following which he was reinstated. He has been in the machine factory or shop for 37 years.

Asked for any comments on the intervention of Soviet troops he said they all agreed in Dorog that it was counter-revolution and that it was correct to use Soviet troops. He also informed us about the football match the result of which was Soviet Army 3 Dorog 2.

We entered one of the shops, occupied mainly by turning and shaving lathes, and before we knew what was happening we had a small meeting. After answering questions on the reasons for our visit, we then asked for reactions to the Kádár Government.

One young man said that he agreed with the programme of the Kádár Government, that he was an ex-service man and was not a Communist. Michael Cook approached a young worker in the yard who said that he agreed with the use of Soviet troops as it had been necessary to defeat the counter-revolution. He was a member of the factory guard, defending the factory, and he agreed with the programme of the Kádár Government as it gave the only road leading to stabilization. He was not a Communist and his name was József Bitk.

After spending most of the day visiting the technicians' club and the workers' cultural centre, which we would have called a large miners' welfare scheme, and while much required to be done especially with regard to road maintenance in the village, we came to the conclusion that life seemed to be going along in the normal manner.

It was at Dorog that we were told of the counter-revolutionaries damaging statues of Soviet heroes which had been erected following the liberation of the country in 1945. These had all been repaired by the people who had asked for and received the necessary material from the Coal Trust.

On our way back to Budapest we stopped at the village of Visegrad and went into the tavern which was full of men and women as it was the eve of Easter and the beginning of a short holiday. No matter the town or village we passed through on that Saturday evening, we saw many people making their way to church services and life seemed to be going on in the normal fashion.

While in the tavern at the village of Visegrad, two young men sitting at the next table heard the strange tongues and came over to inquire where we were from. After being informed by our interpreter that we were from Scotland, one of them made a spontaneous statement. His name was Rudolf Matunger who worked as a labourer and had been secretary of a youth organization in the village. He said that he agreed with the demonstrations in Budapest, in the first instance, as the reforms were necessary but he did not agree with the subsequent forms of these demonstrations. He said that the counter-revolutionaries had taken control and when he heard of the murders and hangings in Budapest he asked for arms and organized the youth to defend their village against the counter-revolutionaries. When we asked if he agreed with the Kádár Government, his reply was yes. He also stated he thought their programme correct and ended by pointing out he was not a Communist.

On Sunday, 21st April, we were taken to see a football match in the stadium between a Hungarian and Yugoslav team and here we witnessed for ourselves the fraternization between the people and the Soviet forces, hence the reason for this being included in the report.

On Monday, 22nd April, we were taken on a tour of the area which was the scene of the demonstrations and fighting during the period arising from the 23rd of October. We first of all visited Bem Square where the statue of a Polish General stands who fought in the war of liberation of Hungary in 1848 and from whom the square takes its name. It was here that the first of the demonstrations gathered to pay tribute not only to General Bem but to declare soli-

darity with Mr. Gomulka, the Polish Prime Minister. But this was to be the only official demonstration on that day.

As it turned out, simultaneous demonstrations took place in various parts of the city and as subsequent events bore out (this is information given by the Hungarian Miners' Union), there were arms already hidden in various parts of the city. In fact they say that truck-loads of arms were distributed throughout the city on the 23rd of October. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is situated in Bem Square and not far off is the factory of Ganz which continued to work.

We then visited Parliament Square and saw the balcony from which Imre Nagy tried to address the crowds after repeated demands. As already reported, however, when he commenced with the word "Comrades" they would not allow him to continue and shouted that he was a Russian oaf-stooge.

We stopped two men crossing the square and after enlightening them who we were and our reason for being in Hungary, we asked for their opinion of the Kádár Government and its policy. The eldest was employed as a book-keeper with a textile firm and the other, his brother-in-law, was a farmer, up for a visit. The book-keeper said that he agreed with the policy of the Kádár Government as it was saving the country from inflation. He said he understood this policy as he had been trained in statistics and because of this he was firmly convinced that the Kádár Government policy was correct.

The farmer said he also was of the opinion that the Kádár Government policy was correct. The act of doing away with the forced quota system from the farmer gave much benefit; they sold their produce in the market and received from the government the market price for any produce sold to the government. We then asked for their honest opinion of the situation arising from the 23rd October and their immediate reply was that there was no doubt that it was a counter-revolution.

We then walked through the streets to see the radio station and barracks where Colonel Maletier was a senior officer. The damage to buildings on the main boulevard must have been terrible but already a great amount of repair work has been carried out and we were informed that an army of 10,000 building workers were working in Budapest on this and other building work. We were also informed that already the government has solved the problem of those who were made homeless through such destruction.

In the evening we paid a visit to the Statue of Liberty on Gellert Mountain erected to the Soviet liberating army of 1945 and here the delegation witnessed further evidence of fraternization of the young people of both sexes with the Soviet troops.

On Tuesday, 23rd April, we travelled to the mining town of Komlo 200 miles from Budapest and first of all discussed with the chairman of the trade-union committee and manager, the situation in the town and surrounding area arising out of the 23rd October incidents.

The manager of the colliery, Mr. Pigl, was arrested by the counter-revolutionary workers' council and was sentenced along with others to be executed on 6th November, 1956. He was saved, however, by the fact that the Soviet troops arrived in Pécs on 4th November which is approximately 14 miles away. The leading officials of the counter-revolutionary council fled the country and the manager and others were released from prison.

The trade-union chairman said the working and living conditions in 1956 were better than in 1945. In 1950 there had been a rearrangement of wages and miners were given the highest industrial wage. A certain sum of money had been laid down each year for wages but while the miners were held strictly to their formula this was not so with engineering and other industries, with the result that the miners found themselves, in the first part of 1956, in the ninth place in the industrial wage scale. This policy created a feeling of dissatisfaction with a consequent loss of man-

power. Prior to 23rd October, 1956, 1,000 prisoners and 1,000 soldiers were employed in Komlo, in order to provide sufficient man-power. Some of them were already skilled miners but this had been discontinued even at a serious loss in man-power.

During our visit underground we saw young women acting as telephone operators and motor haulage hands but the government has decreed that they must all be withdrawn at the end of 1957. We expressed the opinion that it should be done immediately.

Events in Komlo from 23rd October, 1956, were given as follows. The counter-revolutionary movement commenced from the hostels occupied by unmarried workers and their first demand was that the Communist Party and its leadership should be expelled from the town. They burned the red flag and books found in the Party's headquarters. Even in this situation the pits worked fully until 25th October. Following this the new workers' council demanded the dissolution of the trade union, the dismissal of trade-union officials and local authority and that they should take over the coal pits and official positions in the Coal Trust. By this time they had armed control of the town and had already released all the prisoners. On 1st November they arrested all the trade-union officials who could be found and also members of the Coal Trust. Those who had received prior notice from friends that these arrests were being made, fled to the hills and forests.

The person who claimed to be the leader of this counter-revolutionary council was a Mr. Turner who had been an army officer under the Horthy regime. The president of the workers' council was a German named Meissner who had been the local organizer of the fascist (Hitler) organization of German minority.

We received the following names who along with the manager were arrested and condemned to death:

János Pigl—Technician and present manager of the Trust

Jenő Sirmal—Party Secretary of Komlo
Béla Vider—Member of Local Party Committee
Gyula Bernhard—Head of Man-Power Department of
Coal Trust
István Moka—Technician
István Sasdi—Hewer (underground) miner
Árpád Simek—Chairman of the Local Council
Károly Tatal—First Secretary of the Local Party Committee
József Kovács—Manager of the Kossuth Pit
Denes Kollár—Party Secretary, Komlo
Gyula Cseh—A clerk employed by the Coal Trust
Tibor Galabar—Secretary of the Local Council
Bukovecs—Chairman of Factory Committee, Komblo pit.
András Komer—Chairman of Komlo Trade-Union Committee.

We wish to make it clear that it was by discussion with the interpreter that we found out that Komer was also on this condemned list but that he had escaped to the Soviet forces. He was one of our guides throughout our stay in Hungary and we would like at this point to express our appreciation of his excellent administrative services.

Following 6th November, work in the colliery was gradually being resumed but the counter-revolutionaries had fled into the forests and carried on a reign of terror shooting at those who tried to travel to the pits from the surrounding countryside. When the Budapest Central Workers' Council called for strike on 12th and 13th December, however, the miners continued, in three pits out of seven, to work. This partial stoppage went on for two weeks and it was pointed out that many more miners from outlying districts would have worked but due to the terrorist activity bus drivers refused to carry the miners from outlying villages. These terrorists were finally routed out by the combined efforts of Soviet troops and people's militia, and during this operation Gyula Grosz, a militiaman, was killed.

We went underground with the head engineer who gave us the following facts:

	<i>Man-power</i>
Pre-October, 1956	9,000 (including prisoners and soldiers)
Post-October, 1956	5,000
Since December, 1956	8,000
Output pre-October, 1956	O.M.S. 2 tons
" January, 1957	O.M.S. 1.9 tons

Prior to 23rd October production on the coal face was a three shift system with no adequate time for proper maintenance but the new position is two production shifts and one preparatory shift.

Hours of work—pre-October, 1956—8 hours underground
after October, 1956—8 hours bank to bank.

While underground we spoke to a workman, Ferenc Bán-völgyi, who finally told us that his job was section foreman. When asked for his opinion of the use of Soviet troops he said that if they had not been used, he and others would not now be living in Hungary as they were at present. Many more lives would have been lost and if the Soviet troops had even been two days later, it would have been disastrous for them.

When asked about the Kádár Government and its policy, his reply was that supposing he was not to agree with the policy, it had to be accepted that Kádár had had the courage to fight against the counter-revolution. When asked if he supported Kádár's policy his reply was yes.

We also asked these questions of a transport worker at the end of our visit underground. He said that even with the Kádár Government he was one of those who had sat on the fence. When asked the reason he said he had been disillusioned by the Rákosi Government who had not carried out their promises to the miners, but since the Kádár Government had taken office the promises given by them had been carried out, namely, in relation to wages and hours of work.

It was because of these acts that he felt the policy of the Kádár Government was correct and he supported him and his government. We then asked him about the use of Soviet troops and did he agree it was a counter-revolution? His reply was that it was counter-revolution, but at first he had been sure Imre Nagy would have been able to have overcome the position. After three days, however, it had become apparent that he had failed. He now recognized that the Kádár Government had carried through the correct policy and that the use of Soviet troops had been necessary.

When we came up to the surface a very interesting discussion took place on the incidence of pneumoconiosis in Komlo, the management stating that they had no evidence of it. We discovered, however, that this statement was not based upon the type of examination and research carried out in Britain and so we promised to forward to them all the necessary material we could get on the subject.

On Wednesday, 24th April, we visited the town of Pécs and there met the trade-union officials together with the chairman and members of the Coal Trust. The President of the Provincial Trade-Union Council, Mr. Bogar, made a statement to the effect that the collieries there had kept working until 25th October. On 26th October there were hooligan demonstrations demanding strike action and these resulted in partial stoppages. It was finally discovered that many of these demonstrators had commenced work in the pits some months prior to 23rd October.

While 30 to 40 per cent of the underground miners kept working the situation in Piesbánya was the worst. It was here that three hundred miners entered the pit and carried through a stay-in strike. The total underground man-power of the pit was 1,400 and the leading role of the strike was carried out by five men who with rifles guarded the roads to and from the pit. The leader, Mr. Rokolya, was an Executive Committee member of the Miners' Union, and had come to the district and commenced work in Piesbánya in 1950. He was of peasant origin but had become a skilled

hewer and had been elected to the pit committee. He was then elected to Welfare Officer for the pit at 28 years of age and was very popular with the miners and was generally well liked. When he went over to the counter-revolutionaries he was warned many times by his former associates in the trade union that he was taking a wrong step. He had, however, continued to organize strikes in other pits and had said if necessary, they would blow up the rail track and pit shafts. When finally arrested and brought to court he had admitted that his activities were wrong and that he had been misled. He was imprisoned for six months.

We were informed that while three hundred miners started the stay-in strike, one hundred of them, especially the older miners who knew the various exits from underground, made their way back to the surface.

This strike action, they said, had been planned as a show strike in an attempt to prove that the miners were resisting the call from the government for coal and we were also informed that the strikers had had plenty of food with them.

Following the appeal from Prime Minister, Kádár, on 15th December, the pits resumed on a partial basis, e.g., Beke pit, 80 per cent; Pécs pit, 50 per cent; Vasas pit, 75 per cent. The other pits in the district commenced in varying percentages, but one of the reasons why more miners from outlying districts did not commence work was because of the shortage of buses, there being only eight instead of thirty.

The trade-union officials said that a serious fault had developed in their work arising from the results of the 26th Congress of the Miners' Union held in July, 1956. A resolution demanding a wage increase was passed and put to the government and accepted. It was subsequently agreed to rearrange wages and this was put into effect. The trade-union leaders locally, however, had carried this into the coalfield in a half-hearted manner and the counter-revolutionary workers' council recognizing this had made the

same wage demand an important point in their charter, thereby gaining some control, while the trade union had lost the leadership temporarily but had then to inform the miners more correctly.

The counter-revolutionary council demanded that all trade-union leaders should be changed and new elections should take place. A list of names had been put forward to a members meeting but was not accepted by the membership. It was then they had resorted to armed control.

The present position now is that O.M.S. has reached the pre-October figure taking into consideration the reduction in man-power and shorter working day.

On our way back to Budapest we paid a surprise visit to the miners' cultural centre at Vasas and there had an impromptu discussion with approximately thirty miners who happened to be playing billiards (bagatelle) and having refreshments. We informed them who we were and the reason for our visit to Hungary and asked them if they would give us their frank opinion on the situation on 23rd October, 1956, and the period and events thereafter.

One of them said that when the situation developed in Budapest on 23rd October, the miners in Vasas were of the opinion that it was a revolution due to the government refusing to agree to the just demands of the workers and students but even in face of this, half the miners in Vasas had kept working. The position of the Rácosi Government was that the miners were being urged on continually by the slogan "produce more today than you did yesterday" but the wages had not risen correspondingly. When, however, the Kádár Government did give an increase in wages and the Central Workers' Council of Budapest at the same time made a call for strike, they had come to the conclusion that something was wrong. It was then they decided that counter-revolution had taken control.

He also said that the use of Soviet troops was necessary and if they had not been used it would have meant disaster for the people of Hungary. Prime Minister Kádár had not

only carried out his promises to the miners but he had also stopped the slogans. His was the only policy suitable to Hungary at this time.

When the remaining miners were asked if they agreed with these statements their answer, without hesitation, was yes (*Igen*).

Coming back to Pécs we asked what was the situation in the uranium mines and we were answered by a young miner, Gerenda, who said there had not been any real production of uranium either before or after October, 1956, as this was still an experiment. It was correct to say, however, that the technicians came mainly from the U.S.S.R.

When the counter-revolution developed in Pécs, approximately one-third of the man-power left, mainly oil-drillers, who went back to their own work. The present position now, however, was that the man-power was 85 to 90 per cent of pre-October level.

We then met about twenty University students at the University of Medical Science, who informed us that on 22nd October, 1956, the so-called Students' Parliament drew up a charter of demands to the government, many points of which coincided with the demands made by the students of Budapest. The students, while agreeing that some of the original demands were justified, also said that they were not unanimous on the full charter. It was learned later that twenty students then met and drew up a charter which was relayed on the radio twenty-five hours later.

They also informed us that "Radio Free Europe" made hourly pronouncements by a person who called himself General Bill, a former Horthy officer, on how to handle rifles, grenades and the best way to attack tanks. When asked if they were convinced that it was a counter-revolution, they said yes and pointed out that the government had granted many of their educational reforms. They also all agreed that it was necessary to call upon the Soviet troops to intervene.

On Thursday, 25th April, we were met by the General Secretary of the Hungarian Trade-Union Council, Mr. Kaspar, who said the trade-union movement of Hungary had been faced with many problems quite new to them. When the working class of Hungary came to power in 1949, it was a young working class historically speaking and it had failed to recognize that its task was not only to carry through the directives as laid down in the policy of the Workers' Government, but also to defend the interests of the working masses as the executor of the policy of the Workers' Government. Not recognizing this, they had failed to get unity between the government of the new ruling class and the individual.

When they commenced their planned economy, it seemed that all that was necessary was to obtain an over-all increase in production but they had failed to recognize that the fulfilment of a national plan and the needs of the individual had to be coordinated. For instance, in estimating the national plan, and coming to the conclusion that a 5 per cent increase in wages should be given to all workers, instead of giving 5 per cent, only 1.5 per cent was given, the remainder being placed to capital investment, without a thorough explanation to the workers as to the necessity for this action and the subsequent benefits which would arise from this. This was bound to create a basis of discontent.

Quite frankly they had failed to go to the workers with sufficient explanation and reason and again in 1953 they had realized that they had gone beyond their capacity by a policy of exaggerated industrialization.

They were bound to recruit more man-power for the factories and the mines. The miners had increased their coal output but the new man-power was drawn from peasants, bourgeoisie, army and prisoners and so this did not give an immediate stable social force. For example, in a factory in Budapest, out of a total of 4,000 man-power, there were 280 officers of the former Horthy army.

They wanted to tell the Western press that they would not allow a counter-revolution to take over and they had also sent a letter to the British Trades Union Congress asking them to assist in having Hungarian refugees, who desired to return to their own country, given every facility to do so, since they had plenty of jobs here for them to do. All they had received in reply was a lecture on humanism.

Mr. Kaspar continued by saying that it would be wrong to say that the intervention of Soviet troops, requested by the Hungarian Government, was the only saviour of socialism in Hungary because even if Hungary had been defeated, world socialism would still have grown. If, however, the U.S.S.R. had refused the assistance as requested, history would have condemned them as by their action the U.S.S.R. had saved mankind from world war.

On Friday, 26th April, we visited the miners and their families in Tátabánya. After being met by the deputy chairman of the Coal Trust and the deputy chairman of the Trade-Union Council, we made our way to No. 7 shaft for an unexpected visit. When we arrived the day shift were finishing and the back shift were ready to go underground. We explained to those miners sitting around who we were and the reason for being in Tátabánya. The miners were a little hesitant at first to our approaches but a young miner, János Pati came forward. He was 20 years of age and told us that he had been one of the refugees and had arrived at Skegness, Yorkshire, on 13th January. When asked why he fled from Hungary, he said he had wanted adventure and "Radio Free Europe" had been continually painting Britain and the West as an El Dorado. He had not found it so, however, and had returned to Hungary on 8th March, 1957, and said he was very happy to be home again.

We also met a young woman who had fled with some of her friends and landed in Western Germany. She said while there they had been housed in a camp and had been supplied with good food. She was, however, very glad to be back home.

The following information was given to us by a group of about fifty miners:

The pits worked full from 23rd October to 27th October, then small groups of armed men appeared in the village and called upon the miners to stop work. When the miners refused they picketted the pits and carried out terrorist attacks against the Party, trade union and Coal Trust. These counter-revolutionary groups were mostly strangers but some of them belonged to Tátabánya. We were told, however, that not a single worker was in the leadership of the counter-revolutionary committee. Chief leader was a dentist, Kleber Marton, who prior to 23rd October, had a monthly income of 30,000 forints. His assistants were a lawyer, Molnár, and a secondary school-teacher, Tima. These leaders were joined by some unmarried workers from Tátabánya and some who were strangers.

The miners said that prior to October 23rd constant visits were made by persons from the British and American embassies in Tátabánya. During the period of the counter-revolution the persons from these embassies together with a correspondent from the B.B.C. were periodically seen in Tátabánya.

Chief of staff of the counter-revolutionary forces in Hungary, General Király, lived in the village of Csazar, 30 kilometres from Tátabánya, but he had fled the country in an American helicopter.

The occupation of the district by these forces and the taking over by them of the pits and the surrounding countryside meant a partial stoppage of approximately two months. The maintenance men worked all the time and one of the reasons many miners could not get to the pits was the terrorism being carried out in the surrounding countryside.

During these discussions we met and spoke to a miner coming off the day shift who spoke English. His name was József Pendli and he had served four years in the Special Air Services in Britain during the war when he was sta-

tioned in Prestwick. When asked his opinion of the situation arising from 23rd October, 1956, he replied that there were some people who did not like him. We finally discovered that he had been a member of the counter-revolutionary forces in Tátabánya and in a discussion about the use of Soviet troops, he said he did not like them or any other troops in his country and to emphasize this point he wet his hand, pressed it on the ground and then kissed his hand saying this was his motherland. He obviously had strong nationalist feelings.

We then asked how, if he had been one of the counter-revolutionaries in the village, was he again working in the pit. We were informed that even although he still had arms on 17th December, which was past the period of amnesty, he had said that he regretted the actions he had taken. He now felt that he had been mistaken and had been misled. All the miners were of the opinion that he was quite sincere and honest in his retraction and having known him as a fighter against Nazism prior to and during the Second World War, they had decided to act in tolerance.

When we asked for further evidence of his statements, a young man who had been his close friend from boyhood, said he was convinced from the discussion he had had with Pendli that he was most honest and sincere in these statements. Pendli said that up to the present the Kádár Government had carried out its promises to the miners and the workers and he was of the opinion that its policy was the correct one in the present circumstances. We then asked if his opinion was that the use of Soviet troops was correct or if they were necessary. Here he became a little hesitant and when pressed further on the point he said he was now convinced it was right but as this was answered in English the miners wanted the question put in Hungarian. During our talk in English our interpreter related our discussion to the miners. The question was again put in Hungarian and his answer was given in the affirmative (*Igen*).

We then asked if all the other miners agreed with these remarks and were there any who had different opinions. They said they agreed and when we asked if we could use their names, there was no holding back—these are four names: Várگا, Merhaut, Kiss and János Pati. We could have got many more but felt this sufficient.

One young hewer, Merhaut said that immediately Prime Minister Kádár made his appeal on 15th December, 1956, for full resumption of coal production, almost all the miners of Tátabánya answered by resuming work on the basis of full coal production.

We learned later that when twelve of the counter-revolutionary local leaders were arrested the counter-revolutionary workers' council approached the Coal Trust demanding their release on the threat of further strike action. The Coal Trust, however, along with the Miners' Trade Union, stood firm and their bluff was called by the miners remaining at work. The trade union had again got control of the situation.

The output from the pits of Tátabánya, even on the basis of shorter hours and reduced man-power, was in March, 1957, 95 per cent of the pre-October figure.

These coalfields which we visited, represent in number of collieries and man-power as follows:

Tátabánya	— 14 collieries	— 12,000 man-power
Komlo	— 7 "	— 7,000 "
Pécs	— 4 "	— 5,000 "
Dorog	— 12 "	— 8,000 "

These do not include workshops, washeries, etc., and the total output from these collieries represent approximately 50 per cent of the total output of the country.

In our discussions at Tátabánya we had the assistance of Sándor Mak, Deputy Chairman of the Coal Trust Committee, István Stuno, Deputy Chairman of the Trade Union Provincial Council, József Domina, Chairman of the Fac-

tory Committee of Pit No. 15, and Monherc Antal, Old Age Pensioner, Veteran Trade Unionist.

On Tuesday, 30th April, we met the Minister of Justice, Mr. Nezvál, who said that the counter-revolution had created many serious problems and had provided many lessons. The counter-revolutionaries were armed by Allies and agents in the Armed Forces. They had opened the prisons and released prisoners regardless of their crime and these acts took place in all parts of the country simultaneously as if according to a plan.

Their plan had been to overthrow the socialist structure under the guise of demanding reforms of the socialist structure of society in Hungary. He gave an example of the role played by Dudas who had a group of 352 who were, with the exception of four men, all former convicted prisoners. Dudas with his gang captured the Party paper and his companion Szabó held the square of Szena and had started the hunt for Communists.

Dudas, who was a former fascist leader, was captured, sentenced to death and executed in January.

When the so-called workers' councils were set up by the counter-revolutionary forces, approximately 50 per cent of the personnel of these councils were composed of former prisoners.

The Minister stated that it should be underlined as a lie that the Socialist Government fought against the strike weapon if it was being used as a legitimate weapon by the workers in the interests of the workers. They were, however, definitely against strike action (not in the interests of the legitimate demands of the workers) but when it was being used by counter-revolutionary forces for the overthrow of the Socialist Government.

The Western press had conducted a campaign against the Socialist Government by stating that they had destroyed this weapon of strike. What had actually happened, however, was that the government had passed measures providing that the death sentence would be used against any

leader or organization who used the strike weapon illegally for the purpose of overthrowing the Socialist Government. This measure had been effective in that, since its inception, there had been no cases for trial.

The Minister also referred to the fact that the Western press had claimed that thousands of counter-revolutionaries had been executed but this was also untrue. He then drew a picture of a group of 297 persons who were put on trial before a court martial charged with counter-revolutionary activities as well as the holding of arms. 36.4 per cent of these were former convicted prisoners and the extent of fire-arms and ammunition held by these people were as follows:

- 17 machine-guns
- 129 machine pistols
- 87 rifles
- 160 pistols (revolvers)
- 158 hand grenades
- 137 explosive equipment for hand grenades
- 50 chain grenades
- 63,570 pieces of mixed ammunition
- 5 boxes (or cases) of ammunition

The militia had now completed a list of arms and ammunition handed in voluntarily and what they had found and confiscated. There were 36,000 pieces of various types of arms, 2½ million rounds of mixed ammunition and amongst these arms were found many of the latest type of U.S.A. and British make and also some from Western Germany. Fifty transmitting and receiving sets of various types were also found.

The Minister said he would give another example of the fact that the counter-revolution had its contacts with various persons and bodies outside Hungary. There was the trial of three persons on the charge of murder, who had also cooperated with journalists and writers in producing

an illegal paper. It came out that two of the journalists and writers Oberszovszki and Galli were in constant touch with refugees in Strasbourg, among them being General Király.

The Minister continued by saying that ammunition and arms were brought into Hungary by many devious ways, and that from 29th October, 1956 troops and arms were brought into Western Hungary by plane. In one plane a man with 16 wounds was captured by Soviet troops who had a blueprint of directives on how the counter-revolutionary forces were to operate, for example, the attack upon the radio station was carried out in accordance with the plan contained in the blueprint and the inner core of the counter-revolution worked strictly in accordance with these directives.

In Tátabánya, nine members of the counter-revolution were brought to trial when two were sentenced to death for the murder of miners and the torturing of Communists. Five of them were sentenced to prison for a period of from 10 to 15 years and two mining engineers were still under investigation.

In the afternoon we paid a visit to St. Stephens Cathedral and while it is recognized to be one of the oldest and most beautiful cathedrals in Hungary our main object was to try and have some discussion with the clergy. We did go through the cathedral and the Italian fresco work was really fine art, as were the altars, all carved in marble. We did have a short discussion with the clergy and were informed by a priest that during the October events, he was not in Budapest but was in a church in the countryside. He said, however, that conditions between the church and the Kádár Government were much better than they had been and agreement suitable to both church and government had been reached. There had been a number of priests arrested during the Rákosi Government but not on religious grounds. They had however now been released and were back in their churches again. Since the Kádár Government had come to power, however, no priest had been arrested.

He also informed us that there was no restriction placed upon religion and that the people had full religious freedom. As a delegation we saw the churches open everywhere we went and the people going to them in the ordinary manner.

On 1st May, 1957, we were invited to take part in the May Day demonstration, being given places on the various tribunes or platforms. This was only the demonstration of the workers and people of Budapest as similar demonstrations were being held throughout the country.

The columns of marching workers from the various factories and works from the different districts of the city entered the vast square at 10 a.m. and the last of them arrived in position on the square at 11.30 a.m. They came with banners flying and carrying slogans, singing and dancing.

The official estimation was given as between 250,000 and 300,000 but as a delegation we were of the opinion that this was an underestimation.

It was really a wonderful sight to see a huge mass of people, giving rounds of cheers to the members of the government who made up the main platform.

When Prime Minister Kádár arrived, he made his way to the ranks of the workers who chatted and joked with him. Here was proof of what we had been told wherever we travelled and asked questions, that the people had faith in the Kádár Government.

After an introductory speech by Marosan, a member of the government, the Prime Minister János Kádár addressed the crowds for approximately 45 minutes. They cheered when he spoke of Hungarian-Soviet friendship and took up the cry, "Long live friendship between the people of Hungary and the Soviet Union."

They acted similarly when he spoke of the Party and the Government. Finally the crowd roared—"Long live Kádár, long live the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government." Even after the end of the speeches, the crowds still called for Kádár and members of the government, and

it was only when the members of the government left the platform that the people finally left the square.

An interesting point required to be made here is the existence of the Workers' Guard who were on marshalling duty in the square. They have a uniform similar to that of the Warden Service in Britain in the early days of the Second World War, namely overalls, but they were all armed with pistols (revolvers). We learned that there were 80,000 workers' guards and all are similarly armed. This point was put to us—if the government had no basis amongst the workers, would they have handed out all these pistols. They said that they had taken arms and ammunition from the counter-revolutionaries but at the same time had placed their faith in the workers.

The May Day demonstration which we witnessed certainly gave good grounds for such a declaration of trust.

It is also important to note that in the leadership of each contingent there was a member of the government who had worked and carried on his trade-union and political work in that particular district. It could be said that their actions of marching, talking and laughing with the workers, prove the statements we received in the coalfield and countryside, that the policy of János Kádár and his government is at the moment the only policy to bring economic stability to Hungary.

We would like to report that on one of our journeys we paid a visit to a British Military Cemetery, approximately 15 miles from Budapest, where mainly Air Force personnel are buried. We found it well looked after and on Remembrance Day each year the Hungarian authorities and people pay their respects to those who died during the 1939-45 war who are buried there.

Conclusion

In drawing our conclusion of the two weeks' visit to Hungary we must state that this report is a summary of many hours of questions and discussions with workers and people in different spheres.

We wish to reiterate that the Executive Committee of the Hungarian Miners' Union are indeed very sincere men with a high degree of integrity, as our experience proved that their promise of providing the fullest facilities for free open discussion was never departed from. We also want to make clear that this was not a conducted tour but always planned in accordance with our wishes.

We found sincerity and frankness amongst the miners, housewives and people on the streets to whom we spoke.

When we explained who we were and what our mission was, we were met by courtesy and a willingness to answer questions and enter discussions, even to the extent of being asked about the working and living conditions of British miners.

While we were travelling, whether on foot or by car, in town, village or countryside, we tried to estimate the situation by visual observation and discussion amongst ourselves, and the general impression was that life amongst the workers seemed to be back to normal.

In the countryside there does not appear to be one inch of land left uncultivated which can be made to produce food. We saw the state farms, cooperative farms and peasants' small holdings, and we must admit that more modern farming machinery is required for all those farms.

Another problem is transport, and in the countryside, one sees the paradox of motor transport and, at the same time, the bullock cart and bullocks harnessed to the plough.

Building of workers' flats and dwellings is going on everywhere at a tremendous rate and in Tátabánya, builders were working at night with floodlights. It was here we visited miners' houses built in 1906, the rent of which is 5 forints per month while for a five-room modern flat, with central heating and electric light the rent is 112 forints.

The basic wage of a face worker (hewer) is 80 to 85 forints per shift and he has many bonuses added to this, while the transport workers' wage is 40 to 60 forints per shift.

We passed criticism in relation to the building of housing schemes in that no roads were laid down and completed with the houses. We walked through nice housing areas, built just after the end of the war and the roads were not yet completed. It is fair to say, however, that the Miners' Executive Committee accepted our criticism.

We are convinced by our own observations and discussion with the clergy that there is full religious freedom.

All the people we met, whether they were miners or other grades of workers, agreed that there was no aggression by the Soviet troops. On the contrary, they said that the Kádár Government was correct to ask Soviet troops to intervene in order to crush the counter-revolution. There was never any doubt expressed by those we questioned but that counter-revolution was definitely attempting to capture the government and destroy socialist Hungary. In fact more than one person said, if the Soviet troops had been only two days later, Hungary as we know it today would have been destroyed and many more lives lost as a consequence.

The May Day demonstration already referred to in the report confirms our conviction that the workers of Hungary are behind their government.

There are many problems to be solved in Hungary arising out of past mistakes and as a result of the counter-revolution, but no member of the government to whom we spoke tried to hide this fact, indeed the opposite was the case, they themselves exposed the weaknesses and problems.

These things lead us as a delegation to say that we are convinced that counter-revolution developed out of the demonstration of 23rd October, 1956.

The workers with their support for the Kádár Government and its policy can soon overcome the economic and other problems facing the country, but they need friendship in this period. We should therefore reiterate our pledge to build friendship on the basis of international solidarity and the development of socialism and we earnestly hope that the Scottish miners will, in the very near future, extend to the

Hungarian Miners' Union an invitation to visit our Scottish coalfield.

In conclusion, we express our profound appreciation to János Aczél, our interpreter, and András Kómer, our guide and administrator. In the name of the Scottish miners we also wish to express our thanks to the Executive Committee of the Hungarian Miners' Union for granting our request to visit their country and placing at our disposal full facilities for investigation.

We were informed and we think the Scottish miners should know that none of the money donated by them has reached the Hungarian Miners' Trade Union.

(Sgd.) JOHN WOOD—*General Secretary*
ALEX. EDGAR
HUGH GEDDES
MICHAEL COOK

SOBER COMMENTS

WORLD PRESS ON EVENTS IN HUNGARY

The *Austrian* newspaper *Salzburger Volksblatt*

"The seeds sown by the émigrés residing in the West who have been luring Hungary for many years with the spectre of liberation by the West are now yielding bloody shoots."

The *French* newspaper *Monde*,
November 22, 1956

"Top-level American officials utilized the slightest opportunity to demonstrate their concern over destinies of the East European peoples, to stimulate resistance and to stress that all who fight for freedom will receive America's support.... In 1949, at the very height of the 'cold war,' a powerful organization was formed, the 'Free Europe' Committee, which formally bore a private character but actually was directed by the State Department. Allen Dulles, at that time assistant chief of the Central Intelligence Agency, and today its head, became leader of the committee. The committee was formed for a dual purpose: to assume control over the organization and guidance of the post-war political émigrés and to ensure them the leading role in propaganda for Eastern Europe. National committees were formed in New York whose membership was selected by Americans. They provided them with material support which gave

them the monopoly of speaking on behalf of the émigrés. At the same time a radio station was built in Holzkirchen near Munich where some 100 Hungarians worked. For days on end this radio station broadcast programmes for Hungary aimed at strengthening the spirit of resistance to the communist system among its listeners. The main topic of the broadcasts was the might of America and its readiness to help the oppressed peoples. On the other hand, the Crusade for Freedom, a kindred organization of the 'Free Europe' Committee, with the aid of thousands of balloons flooded Hungary regularly with leaflets that incited the population to resistance on behalf of a non-existent Liberation Committee.... Probably a great many people followed the appeals of the 'Free Europe' Radio during the uprising.... Was it not because they followed the advice given by the 'Free Europe' Radio on the eve of the American presidential elections that they waged a futile struggle during these days? The radio station assured its listeners that if the armed uprising continued after the election returns became known the Washington administration could come out in support of Hungary's interests."

The *Austrian* newspaper *Nachrichten für den Sonntag*,
July 27, 1957

"...these people have crossed the Austrian frontier as 'political refugees.' They are the scum of the Hungarian people who have left their homeland not for political reasons but out of amoral considerations and speculative calculations."

The *West-German* newspaper *Vorwärts*,
November 9, 1956

"Otto Gabsburg too hurriedly came out of his retreat, he too soon demanded the crown, he too openly spoke about his dreams of a war.... Count Eszterhazy, a very big exploiter and landowner, was among the first to be released

and he immediately set about organizing a movement to return all the land held by small peasants to a few big agrarian dictators. Cardinal Mindszenty, one of the most shady prelates in Europe, immediately resumed his political activity and, to the horror of the Catholics, let his monarchist and anti-democratic cat out of the bag...."

The *West-German* newspaper *Neue Rhein-Zeitung*,
November 15, 1956

"The propaganda activities of 'Free Europe' have aroused indignation in all political circles. How can Bonn close its eyes on all this only because this is wanted by the American 'friends'?"

The *French* newspaper *France-Soir*,
November 13, 1956

"The telephone exchange in the city was working.... Another miracle was electricity which was never cut (with the exception of two blocks where the substations were heavily damaged). Thanks to this it was possible to live through those terrible minutes, to operate patients, etc. Only thanks to this were we in a position to listen to foreign radio broadcasts which were the only source of our information from the outside world. We heard many false reports as to what was taking place in Budapest. We also heard the broadcasts of the 'Free Europe' station from Munich directed to the satellite countries; the tone of those broadcasts, and their call for rebellion caused much evil. During the last days many Hungarians told us: 'These broadcasts have provoked great bloodshed!...'

"The most reactionary and manifestly fascist elements, although they were in the minority, started to demonstrate their anti-Russian sentiments in too much an open fashion. Cardinal Mindszenty, as soon as he was freed from jail, both in the press and over the radio came out as a political leader of the country."

The *American* magazine *The Nation*,
February 2, 1957

"Certainly it ('Free Europe') had encouraged, along with the Voice of America, an expectation of American support for rebellion, in line with the many vote-getting 'liberation' statements of politicians, including President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles.... During the days of the fighting it played a large part in keeping blood flowing.... R.F.E. egged the battle on with almost hysterical enthusiasm, advising inexperienced 'freedom fighters' (the kids) that it was safest and most effective to fight in groups of three—advice which often led, where Russian tanks alone were not the target, to wanton murder...."

The *American* magazine *Reporter*,
December 27, 1956

"A few days later, I learned from a reliable U.S. official source in Europe, only the worry about the new regime in Hungary moving too fast persisted. It grew almost to panic when the legation in Budapest started getting official notes from the Hungarian Foreign Office stamped with the seal of the Magyar People's Republic from which some local expert in revolutionary protocol had painstakingly chiselled out the communist hammer and sheaf of wheat in the centre. The American chargé d'affaires was instructed to call on Premier Imre Nagy and urge him in effect to please maintain at least a slightly suspicious attitude toward the West until the Soviet forces were safely out of the country."

The *British* newspaper *Daily Mail*,
October 25, 1956

"In these past few days in Budapest I dined with the free men who for a year plotted this week's revolt."

France Presse Agency,
October 31, 1956

"Confirmation has been received that extremist military organizations are being feverishly formed in Western Hungary so as to begin political actions the consequences of which it is impossible to foresee. These organizations have already established contact with the former 'crusaders' (the French correspondent calls the members of the 'Crossed Arrows' party by the name of the French fascist organization—*Compilers*) and ultra-nationalists in Austria. The events in Hungary bring to mind the Horthy putsch of 1919."

The *American* newspaper *New York Herald Tribune*,
(Paris edition),
November 19, 1956

"Hungarians, many Western experts felt, should have contented themselves at least for a while with a coalition of Communists and non-Communists, headed by the Communist but nationalist Premier Imre Nagy.

"...It soon became clear that what Russia faced in Hungary was the prospect of an Adenauer. When the soldiers released the primate, new voices were heard. Some urged even that there be a 'Mindszenty Government,' an idea which horrified some Western friends of the Hungarians. The cardinal's political ideas, these Westerners objected, were of 'the 16th century.'"

The *Swiss* magazine *Journal de Genève*,
December 13, 1956

"Some Hungarians, it seems, reproach Vatican for having insufficiently helped their national revolt. This opinion is absolutely incorrect... Vatican dispatched (to Hungary.—*Authors*.) its confidants. For instance, Monsignor Rodin, a representative of Vatican, visited the capital itself and conferred with Cardinal Mindszenty, whom the Nagy Government had just released from prison. After having ac-

quainted himself with the situation and handed over to the Cardinal a considerable sum of money which the Pope had sent to Hungarian Catholics, he returned to Vatican with secret documents of great value. A little later a similar trip was made by Monsignor Zagon, Rector of the Papal Hungarian Institute, who returned to Rome with messages from Hungarian bishops. Later on, special observers were stationed along the Austrian border. They communicated in writing with the State Secretariat (of the Pope.—*Authors.*)....”

The *Austrian* newspaper *Die Presse*,
November 13, 1956

“What was preached in Munich, London, Paris and New York at a helping of sausages and a glass of whisky in order to fill the daily programme with this, was taken by the courageous but ill-advised Hungarian people at its face value.... Back on Thursday, a young officer was sent from the Kilian barrack to the Western legations in order to ask when the U.N. police paratroops would finally arrive in Budapest.... He left quite depressed when they explained to him that both the paratroops and police were out of the question.”

The *Austrian* newspaper *Bild Telegraf*,
October 29, 1956

“...an officer from among the freedom fighters, who had crossed the border near Nickelsdorf, said that he was going to Salzburg in order to establish contacts with some Hungarian persons in emigration.”

The *G.D.R.* newspaper *Neues Deutschland*,
October 31, 1956

“The Hungarian Freedom Legion is an organization of émigrés who fled to Canada at the end of the Second World War after the collapse of the fascist regime of Horthy. Ac-

according to Western news agencies, this organization has been recruiting volunteers for taking part in the fighting in Hungary. Three thousand Hungarian fascists have turned up so far, who, with full military equipment, will be transferred to Hungary by air."

The *Austrian* newspaper *Salzburger Tageblatt*,
October 31, 1956

"Two-way traffic has been opened through the Austrian-Hungarian border, and the 'free radio stations,' which demand the establishment of 'Western democracy' on Hungarian land, are in reality not transmitters allegedly operating in small towns of West Hungary, but American mobile radio-units.

"But in Salzburg, too, dollars continue to pour into the so-called 'Hungarian Bureau' in Helbrunnerstrasse. This organization has never kept in secret its being maintained exclusively on American dollars. At the present time it is organizing a movement among Hungarian refugees for the purpose of smuggling Horthyites into Hungary.

"Groups of hundreds of Hungarian refugees going to the Hungarian border, where they will be allegedly prepared for 'getting jobs' in Burgenland, gather at the Salzburg railway station. What kind of 'job' is intended for these people is seen from the fact that the gentlemen who receive the so-called 'freedom fighters' at the border, speak English. . . ."

The *French* newspaper *Le Peuple*,
November 1, 1956

"Certain persons, who are not very particular about the means they use, are already trying to plunge these nations into the obscurity of the past, to divert them from the roads leading to socialism."

The *French* newspaper *L'Aurore*,

November 2, 1956

"Hungary is already looking for a future government which will restore life and create order.... Who could carry out this urgent task? They mention the name of Colonel Maleter, 'who is already Defence Minister, but whose political abilities are unknown,' and the name of Mindszenty."

The *West-German* newspaper *Deutsche Woche*,

November 14, 1956

"On November 2, in the presence of pressmen, the Cardinal openly appealed to the West and asked it for political support and help in view of a very difficult situation.

"Before the interview he had had a telephone conversation with his former collaborator, Pater Jasovski, who lives in San Francisco. Through him, Mindszenty sent a personal message to the U.S. President, asking him to support the Hungarian people in their struggle for freedom and to help open the Austrian border for the delivery of weapons and materials."

The *Indian* newspaper *Hindustan Standard*,

June 28, 1957

"Sri Shibanlal Saxena, an Independent member of Parliament, who has just returned to India after a month's stay in Hungary and Rumania, describes the report of the U.N. Committee's enquiry into the events in Hungary in October-November last as a 'one-sided version' of events based mainly on the evidence of refugees who had fled from Hungary.

"In a statement commenting on some of the findings of the committee, he says they are absurd and without any judicial value whatsoever."

The *Indian newspaper Amrita Bazar Patrica,*

June 24, 1957

"If one wants to call the lynchers and murderers revolutionaries, he has to change his ethics. If he wants to cherish the leaders of October upheavals as great revolutionaries, he has to condemn the freedom fighters of Algeria and Cyprus as 'Bandits.'

"Hungarian patriotism and socialist zeal had been miserably misled and the agents of subversion attempted unsuccessfully to change the course of history. That was what happened in Hungary."

**RESOLUTION OF THE COMMITTEES ON FOREIGN
AFFAIRS, AND LAW AND JUSTICE OF THE STATE
ASSEMBLY OF THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC**

On September 3, a joint meeting of the Committees on Foreign affairs, and Law and Justice of the State Assembly of the Hungarian People's Republic was held in Budapest in connection with the forthcoming discussion of the so-called Hungarian question at the session of the U.N. General Assembly. The meeting was addressed by Foreign Minister Imre Horvath and Minister of Justice Ferenc Nezvál.

Horvath stressed that the "Hungarian question" included in the agenda of the special session of the General Assembly had been artificially dragged in. The General Assembly of the United Nations, he said, had no right to consider this question which was a domestic affair of Hungary. We, Horvath continued, may point out that there are many exceedingly important problems in the world which the United Nations is in duty-bound to take up, and part of which, under the colossal pressure of world opinion, had been put on the agenda but to this day had never been discussed with due attention. Among such problems is first of all the question of disarmament, which is of interest to all the peoples of the world, and on the solution of which the future of mankind depends. To this group also belongs the banning of atomic and hydrogen weapons or at least the temporary suspension of their tests. It is also the duty of the United Nations to take up such really important international is-

sues as, for example, the questions of Oman, Algeria and Cyprus, where the imperialists are practising club law against the local population.

It is not accidental, Horvath pointed out, that the American Congress had voted 100 million dollars annually for subversive activities in the countries building socialism, and had increased this appropriation in 1956 by another 25 million dollars. We must point out that this enormous sum has played a very big part in the counter-revolution in Hungary.

Minister of Justice Ferenc Nezvál discussed some of the allegations in the report of the "Committee of Five," examining them from the standpoint of constitutional law. As for denouncing the Warsaw Treaty, he said, neither Imre Nagy, nor the Council of Ministers had the right to do so, since, according to the constitution, only the State Assembly or the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic can decide such an exceptionally important question.

In conclusion of the meeting the Committees on Foreign Affairs and on Law and Justice of the State Assembly passed a resolution protesting against the report of the United Nations Committee and the inclusion of the "Hungarian question" on the General Assembly's agenda.

The resolution says:

The two committees of the State Assembly have established at their joint meeting that:

1. The resolution of the 11th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations No. A/1132 to set up a "Committee of Five" and to give this Committee instructions to investigate the situation in Hungary—to organize observations in Hungary and in other places, to interrogate witnesses, to collect at its own discretion information and proof and then report on its observations to the General Assembly—is a flagrant violation of international law and the United Nations Charter which says: "nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to in-

tervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state."

2. The so-called "Committee of Five" in compiling the report has employed a method directly opposite to the main principles of conducting investigations accepted by civilized nations, since the Committee, except for three notorious counter-revolutionaries, Béla Király, Anna Kethly and József Kővágó, does not give the names of the witnesses on the basis of whose testimony it has drawn up the report, based, as can be seen from the report itself, first of all on statements of elements who were the organizers of or active participants in the counter-revolution in Hungary. At the same time the "Committee of Five" does not take into account at all the documents issued by the Hungarian Government and published in the Hungarian press, thus painting a one-sided, false picture of the counter-revolutionary events in Hungary in October-November 1956.

In addition, the report is filled with false assertions, and provocative statements directed against the Hungarian People's Republic, its Government, and the people's democratic state system.

3. Imre Nagy flagrantly violated the lawful order of the Hungarian People's Republic and the provisions of the Hungarian constitution; breaking his oath he wilfully took decisions on questions falling within the jurisdiction of the State Assembly or the Presidium of the H.P.R. he ignored the laws adopted and approved by the State Assembly, specifically law No. 3 of 1955 on the Warsaw Treaty. In violation of the obligations recorded in article 4 of the Peace Treaty with Hungary of 1947, he allowed the establishment in the country of organizations of a fascist nature which engaged in propaganda hostile towards Hungary's neighbour countries, members of the United Nations, and directed against the territorial integrity of these countries, which endangered peace in this part of Europe and throughout the world. He, without a lawful order, allowed the re-

lease of criminals and political prisoners among whom were many fascist war criminals and spies who had served foreign intelligences. Unlawfully and without any powers, he declared as unsubstantiated the charges presented to Cardinal József Mindszenty, and in his speech restored him in his rights, despite the fact that the verdict, not subject to appeal, had not been revised or changed by the appropriate legal authorities.

4. The Presidium of the H.P.R. on November 3, 1956, exercising its constitutional powers, released the government of Imre Nagy and elected the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government, set up under the leadership of János Kádár. Thereby the government of Imre Nagy ceased to be the government of the Hungarian People's Republic. Proponents of the view casting doubts on the legal basis of the existence of the present Hungarian Government completely ignore the provisions of operating Hungarian law. According to sub-paragraph 4, paragraph 20, and sub-paragraph 2, paragraph 23 of the Hungarian Constitution, the Presidium of the H.P.R. elects and releases the Council of Ministers and its members in the interval between two sessions of the State Assembly.

5. The Presidium of the H.P.R. was elected by the State Assembly on May 17, 1953, at the very first session after the election of the State Assembly, which had been held on the basis of universal and equal suffrage and by secret ballot; since then the Presidium of the H.P.R. has been working uninterruptedly. Consequently, the Presidium personifies the will of the Hungarian working people, and for its activities, according to sub-paragraph 2, paragraph 21 of the Constitution of the H.P.R. is responsible solely to the State Assembly of the H.P.R. Any effort to challenge the legality of the actions of the Presidium of the H.P.R. is an encroachment on the jurisdiction of the State Assembly of Hungary and violates the sovereignty of the Hungarian state.

6. The Hungarian State Assembly, from positions taken at its session in May 1957, condemned the anti-constitutional and anti-national activities of Imre Nagy in the government and agreed with the decision of the Presidium of the H.P.R. which deprived Imre Nagy of confidence and relieved him and his government from the discharge of duties. The State Assembly condemned the anti-constitutional denunciation of the Warsaw Treaty and at the same time expressed agreement with the appointment of the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government. The State Assembly also approved the decision of the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government, according to which it, in restoring constitutional order in the country, continued to use the assistance of the Soviet Army, which the Government asked for on November 4, 1956, to crush the armed attack of counter-revolution. The State Assembly not only recognized this step as lawful but also expressed gratitude to the Soviet Union for the assistance it rendered the Hungarian people.

Therefore the Foreign Affairs Committee and the Law and Justice Committee of the State Assembly of the H.P.R. instruct the Hungarian group of the Inter-Parliamentary Union to propose at its London conference that the national groups be acquainted with the viewpoint of the committees presented above. The Hungarian group should ask the national groups attending the conference to exert influence, through their parliaments, on the governments of their countries so that the latter during the discussion of the so-called Hungarian question at the session of the U.N. General Assembly should act with account of everything outlined in the present resolution and assist in that the "Hungarian question," as an intervention in the domestic affairs of Hungary, be removed from the agenda of the U.N. General Assembly as quickly as possible.

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**ПРАВДА О ВЕНГРИИ
ФАКТЫ И СВИДЕТЕЛЬСТВА)**